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by D. J. Murray and S. H. Humes

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by Chi-Yuen Wu

Ethics in the Public Service
by C. A. Baker

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by Martin Staniland

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Editor's Notes

THE value of the case study approach as a method of instruction in courses in Public Administration is now widely recognized and utilized. Professor Murray and Dr. Humes describe in this Number the system adopted at the Institute of Administration, University of Ife, whereby students were used to prepare case studies. As the authors point out case studies must be realistic and must be relevant – foreign-based problems cannot meet local needs, invented local "cases" rarely prove satisfactory, so course participants assisted by tutors prepared their own studies based on incidents where, as members of the public, they had most difficulty with public administration. We believe that the advantages and supplementary benefits accruing from this student-participation method should stimulate similar experiments elsewhere.

The wider framework of public administration training is reviewed by Dr. Wu. He pays tribute to the training programmes mounted by many Institutes of Public Administration in developing countries. He believes more attention should be given to human relations and conceptual skills, and he calls for greater effort in the 1970s to make training more effective through the preparation of better training materials, through training the trainers and through improved training techniques, towards all of which advice and assistance can be provided by the U.N. Public Administration Division of which Dr. Wu is Head.

We are very glad to publish Colin Baker's paper on *Ethics in the Public Service* which he presented to the third Conference of Commonwealth Directors of Institutes of Public Administration, at Kabete, Kenya, last April. Here is food for thought for the public servant, for those responsible for training public officers, and for the political leaders whom the official serves. Mr. Baker draws the parallel between the public servant and the trustee and without carrying the equation too far, suggests that if the public servant thinks of himself as a trustee it will "help to achieve the goal of good government . . . and assist in building up . . . for the Public Service a reputation of being honourable and fair" – a reputation which will earn respect and as the author concludes "respect is an excellent lubricant of the machinery of government".

The first of two articles on the Ivory Coast by Martin Staniland describes the district administrator in the last years of French Colonial rule and how the reforms proposed then "were highly functional to the survival of the old generalist administrator". These emphasised the latter's role as "co-ordinator" of rural development programmes and Mr. Staniland questions the validity of the arguments in favour of such a role – could not technical officers have got on with the job?–this may have been so in franco-phone Africa, it could however be cogently argued that the administrator/co-ordinator was essential to district administration in British dependencies.

Mr. Chaudhary draws attention to the serious shortcomings in municipal

tax administration in Rajasthan. It is difficult to see how municipal authorities can achieve viability or justify central government support towards this end, when year after year the cumulative total of property tax arrears exceeds the estimated total revenue from this source.

Mr. Chaudhary urges the establishment of a central valuation agency as a first essential step in improving the efficiency of municipal tax collections. It is interesting to note the Rajasthan decision to levy a Turn Over Tax in place of the antiquated and management-costly Octroi tax which has been a major if unsatisfactory source of urban revenue for so long.

Case Study—Its Application and Development in Nigeria—

By D. J. MURRAY and S. H. HUMES

Dr. Murray is Professor of Government at The Open University and Dr. Humes is visiting Professor in Public Administration at the Institute of Administration, University of Ife, Nigeria where, until August 1970, Dr. Murray was Director of Research.

In Nigeria as in other countries considerable difficulties have been encountered in introducing the case study approach in teaching public administration. These difficulties have not stemmed from any lack of appreciation of its value, but because of certain practical problems and, in the course of overcoming them, those at the Institute of Administration, University of Ife, have developed a technique for preparing problem case studies that has at the same time strong instructional justifications.[1] Since its utility appears to extend beyond Nigeria the purpose of this article is to describe the technique employed.

The case study approach as a method of instruction in courses in public administration is too well established for its use in Nigeria to need explaining or justifying. Nevertheless the nature of the justifications needs briefly to be mentioned if the problems encountered in Nigeria are to be understood. The advantages of using problem cases might be summarised under four heads. First, the detail and concreteness of a case study overcomes the general resistance among post-experience administrators to academic theories and principles – the reaction Avice Turnbull described in the context of U.K. when she wrote "Civil Servants, in my experience, are mainly hard headed practical people, who eschew the academic or theoretical as a waste of time, and the barriers they put against what they consider purely theoretical teaching may be justified . . . ".[2] Secondly, the case study approach is a participatory technique and has the advantage that results from active involvement in the learning process. It makes a student "an active participant in the educational process."[3] Thirdly, a case study provides an understanding of actual life situations, and thus allows for an assessment of whether and how general principles can be applied, and at the same time leads to an appreciation of the importance of using knowledge gained from a number of different academic disciplines in order to understand administrative situations. As Stein expressed it in a classic passage "cases act as a corrective severally and even more collectively, for premature and cocksure generalization . . . it is useful for the student, whether for professional ends or as citizen, to become sufficiently immersed in the multifarious

[1]Those involved have been the two authors.

[2]Avice Turnbull, The Use of Case Study in the British Civil Service, *Public Administration*, XXXV, 1957, p. 126.

[3]E. A. Bock (ed.), *Essays on the Case Method in Public Administration*, Brussels, International Institute of Administrative Sciences, 1962, p. 92.

aspects of the public administration process so that an awareness of its richness and variety becomes second nature."[4] Finally the case study approach serves not simply to increase the understanding of administration but allows participants to gain the experience of taking decisions and, in the process, to develop the ability to analyse situations dispassionately, to work with others on a problem and yet at the same time to think independently. To quote Gragg, "no amount of information whether of theory or fact in itself improves insight and judgement or increases ability to act wisely under conditions of responsibility . . . The outstanding virtue of the case system is that it is suited to inspiring activity, under realistic conditions on the part of the student."[5]

These then are the general advantages usually quoted for the use of problem case studies in instruction in public administration. To them I would add one – or give increased emphasis to one – that is particularly important in a developing country like Nigeria. In public administration, as it tends to be taught and as it is written about in the standard textbooks, there is a strong tendency to dress up statements of experience or research findings that may be valid for one society as principles of universal validity. Yet as Simon has commented in drawing attention to this ethnocentricism, "the new nations . . . have . . . posed severe methodological problems. Here no easy assumption can be made that 'all other things are equal'. Almost no other things are equal . . . "[6] In a situation where circumstances are not the same as those in other countries, and particularly of course the United States, certain of the theories and injunctions of traditional public administration tend to be unreal if not actually misleading. Case studies founded on episodes in the local situation have, in these circumstances, a peculiar importance since they provide an opportunity not simply to relate theories and principles to reality but to test them, and then to explore the uncharted areas.

Each of these justifications for the use of problem case studies depends on the case studies meeting certain requirements. Certain of these are basic to any case study – there must be a problem, there must be adequate background information and so on. Two requirements however are particularly critical in a country like Nigeria. First, the cases must be realistic. "A good case," as Lawrence put it, "is the vehicle by which a chunk of reality is brought into the classroom to be worked over by the class and the instructor. A good case keeps the class discussion grounded upon some of the stubborn facts that must be faced up to in real life situations."[7] Most of the advantages of the use of problem case studies depend on this quality of realism; without it

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[4]Harold Stein, *Public Administration and Policy Development: Book*, New York, Harcourt, Brace and World Inc., 1952, p. xxvi.

[5]Charles I. Gragg, Because Wisdom Can't Be Told, in Kenneth F. Andrews (ed.), *The Case Method of Teaching Human Relations, and Administration*, Cambridge, Harvard University Press, 1960, pp. 6–7.

6.H. A. Simon, The Changing Theory and Changing Practice of Public Administration, in Ithiel de Sola Pool (ed.), *Contemporary Political Science: Toward Empirical Theory*, New York, McGraw Hill, p. 92.

[7]Paul R. Lawrence, The Preparation of Case Material, in Kenneth R. Andrews (ed.), *The Case Method of Teaching Human Relations and Administration*, Cambridge, Harvard University Press, 1960, p. 215.

the case does not serve the purpose of allowing participants to test general principles nor, if the case does not carry conviction, will a participant be able to put himself in the position of the decision taker.

The second requirement is that the problems presented must be relevant ones: it is not only that there must be a convincing setting, the cases must have the reality that derives from the problems being in the experience of participants the sort that administrators do have to deal with. What applies to the individual case applies even more to the whole selection of cases with which a participant is confronted in a course. The cases must overall be representative or at least as Stein put it 'normal': that is, the cases must deal with situations that participants do not find "highly surprising";[8] and if possible they should cover the sort of difficult problems with which a particular range of executives can expect to have to deal.

These then are the requirements if the use of problem case studies is to be a fruitful and worthwhile endeavour. And it is these requirements that present difficulties for a country like Nigeria. Foreign problem case studies cannot meet the need for material for case study sessions: local case studies are indispensable. To satisfy this demand the normal injunction is to start by rewriting into a local setting case studies produced elsewhere.[9] The experience in the Institute of Administration, University of Ife, of following this injunction, however, has been unsatisfactory. The resulting cases, though produced by high grade consultants, lack the first requirement of a case study – realism. While the cases produced in this way have resulted in participation by students, this involvement has taken the form of pointing out why the case as presented could not have taken place. The experience with these cases has, needless to say, agreed with that of others. In the United Kingdom for instance Miss Turnbull wrote of experience with successful case studies that "nearly all had one thing in common, they were taken from life. We feel that unless an instructor has the insight of a great novelist he cannot make up a case which has in it the variety of complex patterns which life itself reflects. Also a contrived case may easily be an over-simplification of life, and thus destroy one of the essential purposes of case studies which is to help students to discover for themselves the forces at work, their significance and their interrelationship."[10]

Quite apart, moreover, from such cases failing to capture the intricacies and characteristics of the local social and administrative setting, it is difficult to see how a collection of cases prepared in this way could meet the requirement for normality and representativeness. What is appropriate from this point of view in one society is unlikely to be so in the different conditions of another country.

What these difficulties have been thought to imply is that before collections of effective problem case studies can be made extensive research is required into a country's public administration both to gain an understanding of the

[8]Stein, *op. cit.*, pp. xxviii–xxix.
[9]For a recent example see, G. Robert Dennison, Case Method; Review of a Learning Tool, in A. Adedeji (ed.), *Problems and Techniques of Administrative Training in Africa*, Ife, University of Ife Press, 1969, p. 79.
[10]Turnbull, *op. cit.*, p. 128.

administrative system and to identify suitable material for individual studies. Such an approach is beyond the obvious resources even of such a large country as Nigeria. There is not the supply of high level manpower required to follow through such a programme, nor even to pursue the long and difficult course recommended for the preparation of individual case studies by Lawrence. At the same time the need for problem case material is an urgent one – there is a perceived need, and considerable demand, for graduate and post-experience training of administrators and executives,[11] and if this enthusiasm is to be exploited and not allowed to turn sour through the use of formal instructional techniques coupled with foreign textbooks and teaching materials, suitable local material is required speedily.

Here then is the problem that has faced those at the Institute. There is a demand for training; this training is realised by all to require relevant local materials and among these, problem case studies stand high on the list of priorities; yet it is recognised both that foreign cases that have been dubbed and adapted are unsuitable, and that producing a collection of problem case studies is beyond the capacity of the limited staff available. The solution to this problem has been to use the experience of participants and, as with the introduction of the case method at the Harvard business school, to turn a necessity into a virtue.

There is of course nothing novel about using students to prepare case studies. Many writers have mentioned it as a possible approach, [12] but the experience of using it in Nigeria has revealed certain peculiar advantages. The strategy adopted has been to invite course participants (the very great majority of whom had previous administrative experience) to write up a problem case study before they have anything but the briefest introduction to problem case studies. The practice has been to explain briefly what case studies are, and to consider one stimulating local case study. With this limited introduction – and before participants have a chance to try to copy or rework foreign case studies or look for parallels in their own experience – participants are invited to state what has been the most difficult decision they have had to take within their recent experience and then to write up the whole episode. With those who have not served as administrators – recent graduates for instance – the suggestion has been that they write up the incident where, as a member of the public, they had most difficulty with the public administration.

Course participants have taken considerable trouble to research and write up their selected episodes. In this they have been assisted by tutors who either in oral discussion or written comment have suggested where, for instance, further information is needed, where additional clues would help, or how an episode can be cut off leaving a meaningful problem for consideration. By the stage when participants have re-worked their cases in the light of these comments most of the cases have borne a resemblance to problem

[11] See for example, R. S. Butler, *A Survey to Prepare a Training Plan for the Public Service of Western Nigeria*, Ibadan, Institute of Administration, 1965; and, Federal Republic of Nigeria, *Training Needs of the Federal Civil Service*, Lagos, Federal Ministry of Information, 1968.

[12] Lawrence, *op. cit.*, p. 216; H. Newman and D. M. Sidney, *Teaching Management* London, Routledge and Kegan Paul, p. 161.

case studies – sufficiently so for them to be used in a case study session. The ensuing discussions have been conducted as straight-forward case study sessions. The presence of the author of the case study being used has both increased the problems of handling the session – in particular preventing the discussion centring around the author – and at the same time heightened the involvement with the case. The practice here has been to keep the author of the case on the side-lines until others in the group have become immersed in the problem and have begun to formulate their decisions; only at this point has the author been drawn in to take part and help to thresh the problem about. When the group has worked out its decision, the merits of the episode as a case study have been discussed and in the light of this the author has improved on his case study. As a final stage tutors have worked on the case studies editing and polishing them.

This strategy for the preparation of case studies has had certain clear benefits. First, one of the initial objectives has been achieved; a collection of problem case studies which are fully usable in other case study sessions has been made. These studies meet the basic requirement of realism: they are prepared by those experienced in local conditions, and they have been worked over by groups who are similarly experienced. In addition they go some way at least towards meeting the requirement for normality and representativeness. They are local problems which have confronted administrators – they are not the problems which foreign consultants or trainers think participants should be practised in, they are actual decisions which have faced, teased and worried active administrators, and ones which, looking back over the recent past, they have found the most difficult.

The second benefit of the strategy used has been that it has been possible to couple case study sessions with the preparation of necessary material. The discussions have, with few exceptions, been successful – participants have been deeply involved and have been particularly appreciative of them. To quote three of the evaluations by participants, "it not only instructs but entertains. The discussion period is always a very bright moment, curiosity is aroused, enthusiasm sustained and even one does not like the lesson to end"; "the opportunity to listen to the views of others is itself a training in decision making, warning the administrator to explore all possible factors before arriving at a decision . . . "; and in discussing the different courses "the method which has tremendously impressed me and which has gone a long way to preparing me effectively for my work when I get back to the secretariat is the case study method". Indeed in the different evaluations there was almost uniform enthusiasm for the sessions and most of the traditional justifications for the use of problem case studies appeared unprompted in one form or another.

There has however been a further benefit to this strategy which goes beyond what can be expected from the traditional use of problem case studies. The approach of inviting students to write up as a case the most difficult decision they have had to take in their recent experience appears to have had three clear advantages. First, the individuals concerned have had the opportunity to take apart at a distance an episode that was important to them. Most of those concerned have in the process discovered that options

were available which they did not see at the time, and have realised that they could have made use of additional information that was either actually or potentially available. They have also had the experience of reviewing dispassionately an episode in which many still felt some emotional involvement. In the course of preparing their case studies participants have had to reflect actively on their past experience and review their own past actions.

A second advantage of this approach has been in furthering the development of a consensus on behaviour among groups of officials and non-officials. Case studies are generally acknowledged to have the advantage of encouraging particular attitudes, but a discussion where one present has been the individual on the spot has a peculiar effectiveness. In the circumstances of Nigeria this is a considerable advantage since one of the most difficult problems facing administrators is that of whether, and how far, the official bureaucratic norms should be observed in the face of conflicting societal pressures. In one form or another this difficulty arises in many of the problem situations presented by participants, and to have the issues involved brought out and have the group commit themselves contributes to establishing norms as the personal ones of the group rather than simply as the ones which are officially required.

Finally, the approach employed has involved students in the courses they have been taking in a way that seems qualitatively different from that gained through the use of normal participatory techniques. It is not simply that individuals have taken an active part in the individual sessions, as the quotation above from a course evaluation indicates, it appears that it has changed their attitude to the whole course and to the subject of public administration. To understand this it is necessary to appreciate that the staple diet on which participants are fed consists – inevitably given the present balance of writing on the subject – of such as Simon, Smithburg and Thompson, Pfiffner and Sherwood, Morstein Marx, Waldo, O. G. Stahl and so on;[13] the impression is difficult to avoid that public administration as a subject is to do with something a little removed from the actual that they have immediately experienced, and that (to exaggerate the position) what is required of them is that they should learn to act in a new role, rather than improve on their performance in their existing one. Adequate case study sessions should help to counteract such an attitude to the extent that what they require of participants is that they apply general principles to actual situations. But, by inviting course participants to prepare cases founded on the problems that they have themselves encountered, a value is being attached in an obvious way to the participant's own experience. The change brought about in the attitude of participants is reminiscent of that described in the Hawthorne Electric Works after employees had been asked their opinions

[13]We refer of course to H. A. Simon, D. W. Smithburg and V. A. Thompson, *Public Administration*, New York, Knopf, 1950; J. M. Pfiffner and F. P. Sherwood, *Administrative Organization*, Englewood Cliffs, N. J., Prentice Hall, 1960; Fritz Morstein Marx (ed.), *Elements of Public Administration*, Englewood Cliffs, N.J., Prentice Hall, 1959; Dwight Waldo, *Ideas and Issues in Public Administration*, New York, McGraw Hill, 1953; Dwight Waldo, *The Study of Public Administration*, New York, Random House, 1955; O. G. Stahl, *Public Personnel Administration*, New York, Harper, 1956.

about their working environment.[14] The participants appreciate the importance of their own past experience, and realise that they can themselves contribute alongside the writers of the textbooks they read.

The conclusion therefore among those who have been involved in organizing the preparation of problem case studies by course participants is that a virtue has emerged from necessity. In circumstances that are by no means peculiar to Nigeria, a method of preparing problem case studies has been developed to produce a series of supplementary benefits.

[14]F. J. Roethlisberger and W. J. Dickson, *Management and the Worker*, Cambridge, Harvard University Press, 1964, pp. 190–99 and 227–28.

Training in Public Administration for Development:

Some lessons of International Co-operation.[1]

By CHI-YUEN WU

Dr. Wu is Director of the United Nations Public Administration Division. The views expressed in this paper are his own and do not necessarily represent those of the United Nations.

THE programmes of international technical co-operation in public administration, both multilateral and bilateral, have all placed strong emphasis on training. During the post-war history of these programmes of over twenty years, training has always been the most important of their components, exceeding in terms of costs and resources all other components put together. This is natural, because one of the basic obstacles in the development of developing countries has been the shortage of well-qualified personnel to manage public services, including public enterprises. It is in recognition of the fundamental importance of increasing the number of persons with administrative capacity that the technical co-operation programmes have placed special emphasis on training. In fact, the establishment of the United Nations programme in public administration was due to a recognition of the need to train administrators. Early in 1948, the Brazilian delegation introduced a resolution in the Economic and Social Council for the creation of an international centre for the training of administrators and for the dissemination of information on the art and science of administration. The introduction of this resolution was a major bench-mark not only in the evolution of the United Nations programme in public administration, but also in the emergence of education and training in public administration generally. In 1948, although labour training for increasing industrial productivity was widely recognized, improving the efficiency of public services through training received only scant attention. Since then, the importance of education and training in public administration has been almost universally accepted. The United Nations programme in public administration has developed much beyond the initial conception in 1948, but training in public administration remains its most important element.

Now that the First United Nations Development Decade has ended and the Second Development Decade is about to begin, it would seem opportune to review some of the lessons of past experience and to suggest a strategy for training in administration for development in the 1970s.

Among the lessons one can learn from the experience of the last two decades is that training programmes should be based on an assessment of training need. Often a training programme failed because it was not

[1]Paper presented to the Sixth Inter-University Conference on Special Training Programmes for Overseas Students, held in Leeds, United Kingdom, on 8 April, 1970.

formulated on that basis. Another frequent mistake is to take too narrow an approach in assessing the training need of a particular sector, i.e., without linking it to the overall educational and training need for development. To assess such an overall education and training need is a big and difficult task. Any survey of the demand and supply of personnel for development in a developing country would involve a national manpower survey as well as a survey of all the educational and training facilities in the country. In the long run, the assessment of training need for the administration of development should form part of the overall development plan of the country. Where such an overall plan or survey is not possible, the training programme for the public services should at least be based on the estimates of the personnel requirements of the government, existing supply of such personnel, and the available training facilities to educate and train them. Unfortunately, countries with the greatest training need are frequently those in which the lack of information and data for assessment of training requirements is also most marked. It is therefore often necessary to develop certain pragmatic methods for the identification of needs and priorities.[2]

A major advance in the last twenty years has been the recognition of *formal education and training in public administration* as an essential factor in meeting the demands for qualified administrative and managerial personnel in the public services. There may still be some believers in the traditional view that education in general is the best preparation for entering government services and that administrative and managerial skills can best be learned on the job. But the changing and expanding role of governments and the progress in the disciplines of management and administration have made formal education and training in administration and management necessary. As the government in a developing country has to bring about economic and social changes and development, to take maximum possible advantage of science and technology in pursuit of their development goals, and to serve as an entrepreneur and manager for public enterprises, new demands are imposed on public administration as the major vehicle of governmental action. Accordingly, there is a tremendous increase in demand for qualified personnel. Moreover, the knowledge and skills needed to stay on top of administrative problems of national development are exploding at an accelerating rate. Without well-planned, formal training in administration and management, it would be difficult or even impossible to ensure an adequate supply of qualified personnel for administration of development.

While formal training in the public administration and management is a

[2]From the standpoint of needs, administration of development requires a very wide range of personnel. The United Nations public administration programme has concentrated itself on three areas: (a) the training of general administrators and managerial personnel for the government at the entrance level, at the middle-management level and at the senior level; (b) the provision of management training to the specialists or scientists and technical personnel in the public services; and (c) the training, with collaboration of other agencies and offices, of some special categories of technical personnel, such as accountants and auditors, specialists in computers in government, specialists in the use of modern management techniques in the public services. Reference may be made to the following two publications prepared by the United Nations Public Administration Division: (a) *United Nations Programme in Public Administration* (document E/4296); (b) *Handbook of Training in the Public Service UN* (*Sales No.* 1, 66.11.1).

recent development, formal education for entry into civil service and sometimes also for subsequent work has a very long history. Leadership training for people destined to take charge of major responsibilities in the administration of the affairs of state goes back many centuries, with such great teachers as Confucius in ancient China, or Plato in ancient Greece. The subject matter of such training, however, had little direct bearing on the nature of the administrative work. On the contrary, stress was laid on moral and philosophical teachings. This emphasis on general education was expressive of the importance which was attached to the need for men of culture, intelligence and character in the public services. In quite a different setting and for more pragmatic reasons, the civil service reform in England in the middle of the nineteenth century recommended by Northcote and Trevelyan (1854) was based on similar thinking. The career system was devised by them to attract and retain the cream of British educational institutions, who were generalists with unquestionable intelligence and character. The system relied on the British universities and schools to produce candidates of the right mental calibre required for the Civil Service, without any specialized training. In continental Europe there existed in modern times many special institutions for the training of future public servants, including the French "Grandes Ecoles," which were born from the French Revolution and Napoleon's drastic reforms of the administrative system. Such special institutions for preparation for the public service in Europe, like the British universities, did not provide training in administration and management sciences. The development of such sciences is basically a twentieth century phenomenon, generated by emergence of large-scale organisations, changing economic and social philosophies, accelerating tempo of change and demands for purposive action by public jurisdictions in pursuit of socially and economically desirable goals.

The provision of formal training in administration and management to the public servants has led to the "professionalisation" of administrators and managers. The question is whether this would mean the end of the "generalist" administrator, or simply a change of the generalist administrator from one with general education only to one with management skills also. The answer to this question depends, first of all, on the definition of a generalist. If by generalist one means a man of intelligence and culture, a man of character, a man with an open mind and a broad view, a man with good intuitive judgement and with a good sense of justice, a man with overall concern for the whole community, and a man who is fully aware of the political implication of what he is advising or doing, then governments need larger rather than smaller numbers of generalist administrators. The changing role of administration simply means that they should not only possess the above qualities, but also others. The administrators should also be men of creativity and innovation, capable of serving as major agents of change and development, familiar with all important aspects of government operations, mastering the arts of communication and motivation, equipped with the modern techniques of analysis, and the knowledge and skills of administration and management, as well as men who take a broad, "systems" view of the problems faced by the government and who are capable of using the inter-disciplinary approach to problems. At the same time, the developing

countries also need a large number of specialists (scientific and technical personnel) in government. As economic development is the application of modern science and technology to production and as the role of the government in economic development and in other activities has increased, there has been in the last two decades a significant expansion of technical, scientific and professional personnel in the public services of both developing and developed countries. The proportion between administrators and technical personnel naturally varies with the nature of the public services, including the political and economic systems, the stages of development, the size of the country and of the civil service, and other factors.

In the last two decades, the United Nations Public Administration Division has devoted a great deal of attention to assisting some governments of the developing countries to establish or strengthen their national institutes or schools of public administration (IPAs). Although the United Nations public administration programme, as indicated above, was initiated by a proposal to establish a single international centre, that centre was never established and the United Nations began its programme by assisting a number of countries to establish their national institutes. In the developing world, there are today some one hundred such institutes or schools. The United Nations has given technical assistance to over one-third of them at different stages of their development. Most IPAs are established as government institutions to meet the specific training needs of the government, but some have independent status or are University-based. Although the tendency is to have government training institutions, there can be no hard-and-fast answer. The kind of IPA to be established in a country depends very much on the size of the country and the nature of its public services, the level of general education, the cultural background, the political and administrative systems, as well as the government's personnel and training policies. In countries which have a strong French tradition, a national school may play a major role in the selection process of new entrants to public services and its programme gives strong emphasis on training immediately after recruitment for a considerable period of time. Some other institutes do not perform such functions and mostly concentrate on *in-service training*.

Most of the national institutions have devoted their attention to training of administrators at the entrance level and at the middle-management level. In recent years attention has been increasingly turned to the development of senior administrators. The term "senior administrators" is used here to describe the category of top-level officials occupying key positions in central and provincial government departments, public enterprises and other autonomous and semi-autonomous organizations. In many countries, such senior administrators too often may not fully appreciate the importance of modern administration and management. Without such appreciation among senior administrators, the contribution of institutional training programmes designed for lower level management staff will probably result in failure. Our experience shows that the best approach to the development of senior administrators is first to generate among them a strong motivation for their self-development as a continuing process. Our experience also shows that

successful programmes for the development of senior administrators are contingent upon the active support of the political leaders in the government. Unlike training activities involving lower and middle-management personnel, the development of senior administrators involves special factors that will increase the acceptance of the programme by the senior administrators themselves.[3]

As to the *substantive contents of training*, the major attention of the IPAs has been devoted to the provision of administrative and management training for those civil servants who are recruited specifically for managerial jobs. Up to now, however, not enough has been done to formulate the personnel policy and the development policy for the scientific and technical personnel in the public services. In order to enable those recruited for professional and technical qualifications to perform administrative and managerial duties in their respective specialized fields, it would be important also to give them training in administration and management. It is with a view to assisting the governments and the national institutes in this field that the United Nations Public Administration Division has undertaken two projects, one on the employment, development and role of scientists and technical personnel in the public services of developing countries[4]; and another on the training of professional and technical personnel in the administration and management of development functions.[5] Such training should occupy an important position in the training programmes of the national institutes. In addition, consideration should be given to a training programme to enable a general administrator to have an adequate understanding of the subject matter of a general substantive area in which he is expected to give advice, to take decisions and to execute policies.

It is not enough simply to impart knowledge in the field of administration and management. It is equally, if not more, important to train civil servants in the requisite skills. Skills needed for effective performance as administrators of development include technical, human relations and conceptual skills. Technical skills include the ability to work with methods, processes, procedures and techniques. Human relations skills include the ability to work as members of organizations, to communicate effectively and to lead, motivate and co-ordinate efforts of others in the pursuit of common goals. Conceptual skills include the ability to perceive ideas, to relate them to reality and to see the relationships between different activities, processes and forces. Public administration requires a combination of these skills. Development of all desired skills requires certain basic approaches to education and training in development administration. In the first place, it is important to avoid having a training programme consisting of brief introductory courses on a wide variety of subjects. It would be more fruitful, especially from the point of view of developing useful skills, to concentrate

[3] *See Report of the United Nations Interregional Seminar on the Development of Senior Administrators in the Public Service of Developing Countries* (document ST/TAO/M/45).

[4] See *Report of the United Nations Interregional Seminar on Employment, Development and Role of Scientists and Technical Personnel in the Public Services of Developing Countries*, held in Tashkent, USSR, October 1969.

[5] A draft handbook on this subject is being prepared. It will be revised for publication.

on fewer subjects but to study each in greater depth. It is also important in the training of civil servants not to adopt too theoretical an approach, but to be action-oriented and problem-oriented.

The training programmes of many IPAs have done a creditable job in imparting knowledge and certain technical skills. Not enough attention has been given by quite a few of them to training in human relations and conceptual skills. This may be explained partly by the prevalence of a formalistic and mechanistic approach to public administration at the time of birth of most IPAs. In recent years, behavioural sciences have developed a wealth of information on sociological and human aspects of organizations and their capacities. The need is to incorporate their findings in public administration training to foster human relations skills of managerial personnel. Sensitivity training and other forms of exercises involving group dynamics are getting considerable attention in some countries. We believe that training of administrative and managerial personnel can be considerably improved by adapting relevant findings of behavioural courses for development of human relations skills in developing countries.

Fostering of conceptual skills has been a major objective of higher education. In the context of training for development administration, it implies that the participants, particularly those who are at present holding, or are destined to hold, senior administrative jobs, have to supplement their technical and human relations skills with conceptual skills to make them effective leaders and purveyors of development. Some of the staff colleges address themselves to this area of managerial development. Policy sciences are rapidly coming into their own to provide substantive insights for the achievement of this objective.

Besides knowledge and skills, some national institutes also include as part of their training programme the *promotion of requisite attitudes for development*. It has been recognized that attitudes of individual administrators and managers are one of the most important factors in their performance. For instance, a manager who considers his environment to be hostile is likely to be less productive than his colleague in the same environment who treats it as a positive resource to be mobilized in support of organizational objectives. It is not intended to get into complex details on this subject except to say that a properly conceived and executed training programme can greatly contribute to promotion of requisite attitudes for development. At minimum they can make the participants aware of their attitudes. A syndrome of desirable attitudes for development has been identified by social scientists. The need is consciously to take account of attitudinal dimensions of managerial training as an integral part of such exercises.

It should be emphasized that training should be a *continuous process* for a public servant throughout his career. To avoid personnel obsolescence on the one hand, and to meet the changing needs of public services, on the other, it becomes imperative for members of the public services to keep themselves up to date in their specialities through well-planned programmes of continuous training and other professional activities. In addition to the

formal training programmes organized by IPAs, there should also be *on-the-job training*, as part of the overall training programme. On-the-job training is a kind of flexible and job-oriented training received by civil servants from colleagues of greater experience or seniority given at the place of work whenever the necessity arises. It is often linked with supervision and sometimes also evaluation. This type of training, though not adequate to meet all modern needs, is very effective in many ways and should not be overlooked simply because of the existence of formal training in IPAs. In addition to training, it is also important to emphasize the need for self-development. It is through self-development and continuous training that a civil servant can adjust continuously his outlook to the changing situation.

Another lesson which can be drawn from the experience of the last two decades is that *training should not be treated in isolation from the structure of the public services and larger administrative system* in a country. Training could become a futile effort if it were not linked to and supported by the personnel system, or if the content of training would not be allowed to be put into practice by the system. A training programme can be considered successful only when the knowledge and skills acquired by participants in it can be fully utilized in improving performance on the job. As developing countries have suffered from frequent inability to use their available trained personnel effectively, it would be difficult to encourage acceptance of training unless this is reversed. To motivate public servants to attend training programmes, it is important to link these to programmes of career development. In addition to general executive development and other management development programmes, it has been found useful to organize task and job oriented training programmes. Such activities enable the participants to relate and apply more effectively the principles and theories of public administration to the management of their tasks. These also lead to more visible results for top administrators who have to decide on the efficacy of training for performance improvement in their organizations. Training programmes can be further strengthened by relating them to administrative improvement projects. Whenever an existing administrative system or a major part of it has to be reorganized, a new administrative system installed or a new administrative process or method initiated, special training programmes can be organized for the public officials who are going to be most affected by the changes. Such a course of action reduces resistance to change and affords a better chance for the proposed administrative improvement measures. For the above reasons, some of the national institutes assisted by the United Nations have their training programmes closely linked with the agency for personnel administration and with major administrative reform. This should form part of the *future strategy for training*.

On the basis of past experience and what was said in earlier paragraphs, there are a few other suggestions which could also form part of the strategy for training in public administration for development in the 1970s. *First of all*, it is important to base training programmes on actual need and to define clearly the objectives of each training programme. This is true of the overall programme of a government, or the programme of a national

institute as a whole, or an individual course of training. While the basic objective of training is to build up and to enhance the administrative capacity of the personnel in the public services, each individual programme should have more specific objectives. *Second*, the public servants have to work within the legal and political framework of a country. An adequate training programme should enable the public servants to have a clear and correct understanding of it. *Third*, an important element of the administrative capacity is decision-making capacity. While decision by intuition is sometimes inevitable, it is important, to the extent possible, to train a public servant to take a decision after analysing the best available information, considering all possible alternatives, and taking fully into account the benefits and costs involved. *Fourth*, the concept of change and the role of the civil service as change agent are of great importance for formulating training programmes for civil servants at all levels, especially at the entrance level. It should be borne in mind that those who join the civil service today will reach the senior level in the nineteen eighties and nineties. Some of them will be occupying key jobs in the year 2000. Even assuming the changes between 1970 and 2000 to be similar in degree to those between 1940 and 1970, the changes would be so great as to require new approaches to the organizational, procedural and other administrative problems, new attitudes and methods for public administration, and new organization or machinery to facilitate and bring about necessary and desired changes. To meet the challenge of such changes, public officials have to be educated and trained to tackle the problems of tomorrow rather than of yesterday. *Fifth*, another important point is to avoid fragmented approaches to public administration problems. It is important to emphasize the need to adopt an *holistic view and inter-disciplinary approach* to such problems. It also seems important to train those engaged in the development work in the 1970s to have a much broader view of economic development than their counterparts in the 1960s or 1950s. It is no longer adequate to try to achieve the maximum production with minimum costs in purely economic terms. The view has now been generally accepted that developing countries should have integrated economic and social development and should avoid many of the social and other evils which accompanied economic development in other countries. In the last few years man has also gradually discovered that the process of increasing production and material progress has been accompanied by significant increase in the production of waste and the resulting pollution of human environment. If one were able to look beyond the immediate production problems, and to turn some of the waste to productive uses,[6] the world we live in would be a much better place. *Sixth*, there will be an even greater need for generalist administrators as redefined *supra*, and the training programmes should be able to produce such generalist administrators. *Seventh*, it is important that all generalist administrators should concurrently be professionals in modern approaches to administration and modern techniques. The training programme should have management and

[6]For example, in olden days human and animal waste was used in some countries as fertilizers. Recently, means are being found to remove noxious sulphur dioxide and nitrogen oxides from the stack gases and turn them to sulphuric and nitric acids, which are useful industrial products.

administration as a major component. In addition, special training programmes should be established to enable scientists and technical personnel to acquire necessary administrative and management skills. *Eighth*, the training programme should also include substantive training in specialized fields (*a*) to enable a generalist administrator to have adequate knowledge in depth of the field in which he works and (*b*) to up-date and enhance the knowledge of a specialist in his field. *Ninth*, the training programme and the teaching materials should be relevant to the national milieu. In formulating the course content of training programmes, special attention needs to be paid to the application of general theories and principles of public administration to issues in the national environment, to the use of illustrations and case studies pertinent to national problems and to the development of training materials based on national experience.

Additional points may be made about national institutes. (*a*) Experience shows that it is not enough to help to get a training institution started. It is often necessary to have *continuing stimulus and support* in order to sustain its growth. (*b*) One of the most acute problems faced by a number of IPAs is that of staffing. This involves the recruitment of qualified personnel as teaching staff, their continuous up-dating, and their retention in the services of the institutes. This question is closely related to that of career development of the teaching staff of IPAs. Should they have public administration training as their career or should it only form part of their career as civil servants? There is no hard-and-fast answer to the question. Normally, the teaching staff of a university-based IPA would pursue a training career while teaching staff on secondment from the civil service would often prefer to return to more practical work after a tour of duty at an IPA. In any case, much depends on the conditions of service, status and job satisfaction, as well as career prospects. If trainers are professionalized, it would be important to ensure that trainers should continuously improve and up-date themselves through gaining actual administrative experience (including rendering consultancy services). If training is undertaken by civil servants as a tour of duty, it is important, on the one hand, to ensure that they should first be trained in training methods and approaches and, on the other hand, to recognize that an administrator who has had experience as a trainer usually has a better understanding of inter-personnel and other relations. He is also likely to be more skilful in solving problems and better aware of effective skills in decision-making. Ideally, an institute or a training programme, irrespective of its location in a university or governmental framework, should be able to have on its staff both persons having academic qualifications in public administration and social sciences as well as those with practical experience. Such a mix is important to impart realism to training. (*c*) One of the most neglected aspects in training concerns the *appraisal or evaluation of training results*. Evaluation is to determine what and how much was learned by the trainees and to measure the extent to which the objectives of a training programme have been achieved. Where the course contents are easily measurable (such as certain technical skills) and where the training objectives are clearly defined performance goals, it would be comparatively easy to appraise the training results. But not all training objectives are easily measurable and some are not quantitatively measurable at all. It is important

to avoid a mechanical approach or a methodology with a built-in bias. Bearing this in mind, all concerned with the training of public servants should make every effort to establish a continuous, systematic and comprehensive evaluation. Such an evaluation should take into consideration all the cost factors (including the opportunity costs of the trainees) and all the benefit factors, although it should avoid a mechanical cost-and-benefit exercise where benefits cannot be quantified. In general, the effectiveness of a training programme should be judged in terms of its impact on administrative performance in the implementation of policy than of certain mechanical cost-benefit ratios. The most important type of evaluation is the self-appraisal by the IPAs themselves. Such a self-appraisal should be considered as part of the effort to improve the performance of the training programmes of the institutes.

Many institutes of public administration, to a varying degree, perform other related functions which, if carried out successfully, could greatly strengthen their training function. They may include (i) *action-oriented research*; (ii) *documentation services* (library, reference and also translation services); and (iii) *management advisory* (*consultancy*) *services*. In the 1970s, in view of the rapid changes, there will be an even greater need to link action-oriented research with training and to use the former as an important source for ideas for changes. Furthermore, research at the country level is needed to adapt general public administration theory and administrative practices in other countries to the circumstances in each country. Equally important is the mutually-supportive nature of the training activities and the advisory services of a national institute.

In the 1970s more efforts should be made to increase the effectiveness of the training programme (a) through *the preparation of better training materials*, including also materials for programmed teaching and for correspondence courses; (b) through *the training of trainers* and (c) through *the continuous improvement of training techniques*. To invest in training has a multiplier effect, and to invest in these items will have an even greater multiplier effect.

Ethics in the Public Service*

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"THE basic problems of public administration, as a discipline and as a potential science, are much wider than the problems of mere administration. The necessarily wider preoccupation of a study of public administration, as contrasted with private administration, inevitably enmeshes the problems of public administration in the toils of ethical considerations."[1]

IN discussing ethics in the Public Service there are two difficulties which a writer must be careful to avoid, particularly if he is discussing ethics with practitioners of public administration or with teachers of the practical aspects of the subject. First, there is the difficulty of trying to steer a 'via media' between the trite and obvious – and therefore boring and unhelpful – on the one hand, and being too abstruse and theoretical – and therefore equally boring and unhelpful – on the other. The monster Scylla tempts us to discuss ethics in the over-simplified Mosaic decalogue form of "thou shalt not steal", whilst the whirlpool Charybdis tries to pull us into discussing, for our present purposes, over-complicated aspects of moral philosophy. Teachers of public administration have a duty to sharpen practice with learning and to temper learning with practice. Similarly, those who write about public administration ought to combine learning and practice in such a way as to be both interesting and useful to their readers.

The second difficulty – and possibly it is merely an aspect of the first – is to try to discuss morals without moralising. Again, the avoidance of this difficulty is particularly important when one is addressing an audience of learned practitioners. I shall try to avoid all moralising.

If these are the difficulties, what are the advantages of discussing ethics in the Public Service? In the bustle of everyday life we have little time to sit back and consider such broad matters as ethics; with the pressure to make quick decisions or to prepare material upon which others can make decisions, there is considerable temptation to be merely expedient, and ethical points often strike us only if they are major ones. Yet the destruction of ethical standards is much more likely to take place by means of a gradual erosion, by the individually small scale, unnoticed surrender to expediency, and by the absence of reflection on moral implications, than by a wholesale and manifest ignoring of major ethical principles. If we turn from the detail

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[1]R. A. Dahl, "The Science of Public Administration," in Hodgetts and Corbett, *Canadian Public Administration*, p. 27.

of our work to the major, and in a sense, sole objective of public administration, is not this objective also the supreme ethical goal: increasing the happiness and improving the welfare of the people? And if the greatest goal of ethics and of public administration are the same, then possibly we ought to spend at least a little time in looking at ethics in the Public Service.

Furthermore, it seems to me that teachers of public administration and especially Principals of colleges which specialise in teaching public administration, are in a peculiarly responsible position in respect of ethics. I do not mean by this that we should embark upon a moral crusade – this is certainly not our job – nor that we should ram ethics down the throats of our students – larynx-loading is a poor teaching method! But I do suggest that we ought to direct the attention of our students to the importance of ethical considerations in public administration, and in discussing problems – for example in case studies – to encourage our colleagues and students to examine not only the administrative, legal and political, but also the ethical, aspects of the problems, in those cases where ethical aspects exist, as, I believe, is often the case.

There are a number of ways in which public service differs from employment in the private sector and some of these differences are important in a discussion of ethics.

First, there is the difference of objectives: the provision of services as an end in itself in the case of public service, and the provision of goods or services as a means to the end of making a profit in the case of private enterprise. The conclusions to be drawn from this contrast are frequently exaggerated but none the less the difference is fundamental, particularly from an ethical point of view: surely the goal of service is a greater "good" than the goal of profit. I do not in any way suggest that the making of profit is not moral – far from it – but I do suggest that it should be easier for a public servant to behave morally than it is for a person in private enterprise, provided that the public servant constantly bears in mind the objective of the organization for which he is working: increasing the happiness and improving the welfare of the people. And simply because it is easier, or should be easier, for a public servant to make decisions of a highly moral character, we should demand a very high standard of morality from him.

A second difference between public service and private enterprise – and possibly this is merely a reflection of the fundamental difference mentioned in the preceding paragraph – is that whereas a private company need not treat its customers equally, the public servant is expected to treat all members of the public, if not equally, then certainly fairly or justly. The private concern may, quite properly and, I think, morally, grant discounts to some of its customers but not to others; may have a differential price structure which favours some and not others; may woo some potential customers with gifts and entertainment, whilst not treating other potential customers in the same way. Quite different is the practice expected in the Public Service, where great emphasis is placed upon treating all people equally. In fact, of course, the Public Service does not treat people equally – it would be ridiculous to grant pensions alike to the aged and to schoolchildren; to provide free primary education alike to children and to the

middle-aged; to subsidise or provide free of charge convalescent facilities to the fit as well as to the sick; to provide pre-natal vitamin pills to males as well as females, to the pregnant as well as the un-pregnant. What the Public Service tries to do is not to aim at equality but at justice, or fairness, as between all members of the public, and justice is an ethical objective of the greatest importance; it requires that people and cases should be treated equally unless there are relevant differences between them, and that the degree to which they are treated unequally should be in proportion to the extent of the relevant differences. Of course, the person in private enterprise could argue that this is precisely what happens in the business world and that the difference in treatment is based upon differences in the persons concerned; if potential customer A will bring in more profit than potential customer B, the supplier, noticing this difference, may grant a discount to A. Again, I do not say this is not moral, but the difference is that in the case of the public servant justice is an end in itself (or very nearly so, being a means to the supreme end of increasing happiness and improving the welfare of the people), whereas in private enterprise justice, as illustrated above, is merely a means to the end of making a profit.

This difference in attitudes towards justice in the sense of fairness of treatment between individual persons, is seen in its most acute form in the giving and receiving of gifts. This is common practice in the commercial world where a great deal of money is spent on the purchase of gifts for important customers, business associates and others – often without the knowledge and consent of the bulk of the shareholders. Similarly, the provision of generous expense accounts is a means of providing entertainment to some customers and an enhancement of income to some senior employees. These practices – both almost universal – are accepted as being proper and prudent by nearly all except public servants, to whom they seem a little odd and questionable. Why are they not common practices in government service? The reason, it seems to me, is firstly that they are a breach of the equality-justice-fairness ethic as viewed by public servants, and secondly, on a more practical plane, their introduction would destroy public confidence in the Service, in its impartiality and its morality. And confidence is essential to efficiency – for example, a member of the public who has confidence in the civil servant with whom he is dealing, will not bother to read, interpret, argue and worry about the regulations under which the civil servant is acting, but will accept his ability to interpret and apply them properly and fairly thereby saving a good deal of time, energy and frayed temper.

It is sometimes also argued that a substantial difference exists between public and private employment in the matter of loyalty. I believe that this difference is illusory and, if it exists, it is often over-emphasised. Most people would consider it morally correct for an employee to be loyal to his employer. This need not mean that he must agree completely with everything the employer aims at or does, but merely that he should not, whilst continuing to be employed by him, work against the employer's wishes. The well-known – and I believe morally correct – remedy where one cannot in conscience, or is otherwise not prepared to, continue to work in accordance with his employer's aims or wishes, is to resign, and this applies to both private and public employment. The confusion in this matter, as between public and private

employment, probably arises from the fact that in public service, one expects, from time to time, what appears to be a change of employer: in multi-party states a change of the party in power, in one-party states a change of personnel in the government. But surely this is no more than a change in personalities and is not a change in the organisational employer for whom one is working? If this is so, then there is no fundamental difference in respect of loyalty between public service and private employment.

It would appear then that of the supposed differences which we have examined between public service and private employment – objectives, justice and loyalty – the first is the only difference having substantial ethical implications, the second is possibly merely an aspect of the first, and the third is largely illusory.

Even if everything that I have written so far is accepted it in no sense offers any guidance as to the standard of ethics to which public servants should adhere. Let us now turn our attention to this aspect.

The state, through the law-forming bodies, and especially in the Criminal Law, sets out particular details of conduct which it expects its citizens to avoid. (It is interesting that such laws are normally in the negative, "thou shalt not", form and rarely enunciate positive rules of conduct). Some of these laws apply only to those in the Public Service, for example theft by public servant;[2] and some lay down penalties which are more severe in the case of a public servant than in the case of an ordinary citizen.[3] Besides the general guidance as to ethical standards which statutes give us, most governments have public service regulations which set out in considerable detail specific "offences" which a public servant must avoid.[4] Again, departmental circulars from time to time deal with ethical aspects of a public servant's conduct. But despite this mass of guidance as to conduct, many public servants feel that something more is required – some guidance as to moral principles which is not provided by law, regulations or circulars. Consequently, in a number of countries, a 'code of ethics' has been drawn up.

The very act of attempting to draw up a code of ethics forces the draftsmen to consider ethical principles in detail, which is in itself a valuable activity; and the result represents at least some degree of consensus on moral questions. To take two examples: in the United States of America the code (which is a resolution of the House of Representatives, in which the Senate concurred) is reinforced and enlarged upon by an Executive Order of the President.[5] These two documents have been brought together and codified in the Federal Rules and Regulations. The actual code of ethics, like the similar but informal code issued by the Institute of Administration of the University

[2]For example, The Laws of Malawi, The Penal Code, Cap. 7:01, ss 90 to 96, and s 283. These sections deal with official corruption, extortion by public officers, receiving of property to show favour, false claims by officials, abuse of office, false certification by public officers, and theft by public servant.

[3]*Ibid*, s 278 and s 283; the maximum general punishment for theft is five years imprisonment but the maximum punishment for theft by public servant is imprisonment for life.

[4]For example, The Malawi Public Service Regulations, Chapter II, deal with absenteeism, negligence, insubordination, incompetence, intoxication, bankruptcy, pecuniary embarrassment, extortion, bribery, corruption, etc.

[5]Concurrent Resolution of July 11th, 1958; and Executive Order 11222, of May 8th, 1965.

of Ife, Nigeria, is a very short document and has the advantage that it can if necessary be readily memorised, and can be displayed in the offices of individual public servants. In the Nigerian example it takes the form of a solemn and voluntary undertaking by officers of the government and para-statal corporations; it is a most valuable form of code of ethics.

Codes, however, normally cover specific 'rules' and it would be possible to act unethically and still act in accordance with the specific provisions of all but the longest and most exhaustive and comprehensive of codes. What is needed is a general guide to ethical conduct in the Public Service, not as a substitute for a code but as a background against which a code may be used, and I think that the law of trusteeship may be of some general use to us in this matter.

Political scientists and philosophers have frequently and over a long period referred to the work of government as a trust: Milton held that "the power of kings and magistrates . . . is only derivative, transferred and committed to them in trust from the people to the common good[6]"; Locke in his Second Treatise considered government to be a trust held on behalf of the people[7]; more recently Laski wrote, "In practical life . . . the effective source of State-action is the small number of men whose decisions are legally binding upon the community. They are at once the trustees and the governors of the whole"[8]; today both the Nigerian and United States Codes of Ethics remind us that "public office is a public trust". Let us now look more closely at trusts as they are known to the law, and see to what extent in ethics, if not in law, a public servant may usefully look upon himself as a trustee. To do this perhaps we should look briefly and generally at some definitions of a trust, and at the early history of trusts; and then examine, with particular reference to the Public Service, how the trust is created, what the trust property is, and finally what the trustees' duties are.

Two of the many definitions of a trust may be useful to our present purposes, one modern, the other ancient: Lewin tells us that "No definition of a trust appears to have been accepted as both comprehensive and exact. Strictly, the word refers to the duty or accumulation of obligations that rest upon a person described as a trustee. The responsibilities are in relation to property held by him or under his control . . . to administer . . . in accordance with equitable principles"[9]; and Sir Edward Coke tells us that a trust is a duty resting on the conscience, "a confidence reposed in some other person[10]. These definitions reveal the importance of equity, conscience and confidence in the law of trusts.

In the Common Law Courts of England after the Norman Conquest, the main question regarding land was who was seised (or possessed) of the land, so that the feudal services and dues could be exacted from the proper person.

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[6]Works, Vol. V, p. 10, cited in G. H. Sabine, *A History of Political Thought*, 3rd Edition, p. 510.
[7]John Locke, *The Second Treatise of Government*, edited by J. W. Gough, 1956, p. 69–70.
[8]H. Laski, *A Grammar of Politics*, p. 26.
[9]Lewin, *Trusts*, 16th edition, 1964, p. 1.
[10]Co. Litt. 272b.

During the thirteenth century, however, there appeared in England "poor brethren" of the New Mendicant Orders of the Church, who required land upon which to build churches, hospitals and schools. Since, however, they had taken a vow of poverty, they could not own land, and the device arose whereby land was conveyed to laymen to hold for the "use" of the churchmen. Although the Common Law Courts considered that the legal title to the land in these cases was vested in the laymen, the Court of Chancery considered that the equitable title was vested in the churchmen. After a lengthy struggle the view of the Court of Chancery prevailed and "uses" or "trusts" became fully recognized as a means whereby property is held by one person for the benefit of another. The Chancellor's Court, however, was essentially a court of equity and of conscience, and the rules evolved by Chancery are of a highly moral character. Trusts, then, have a very long history, but their essential character – the holding of property by one person on behalf of another – remains the same today.

How is a trust created and how does a trustee find himself in the position of holding property on behalf of someone else? In equity a trust has never been forced upon a person against his will: the trustee has always been able to disclaim the trust if he so wished. This is true of the public servant, for he is not obliged to be a public servant, but once he accepts the appointment and so long as he remains in the Public Service he cannot avoid the duties.

For the public servant there is no single trust instrument setting out his duties in detail. There are, however, a number of separate documents which perform a function similar to the trust instrument. The most important of these trust documents are the Acts of Parliament which set out some of the duties and which give certain powers to many public servants. Clearly the duties imposed by the law must be strictly obeyed, but the question of how powers are to be exercised, being discretionary and not mandatory, is not so clearly answered, and we shall deal with this a little later.

Of a status almost equal to that of Acts of Parliament are the Annual Estimates. These are approved by Parliament and give authority to various Accounting Officers to spend public money for specified purposes, but Parliament in many countries has not designed machinery for securing economy during expenditure. In addition, whilst the authority conferred by Parliament in the Annual Estimates must not be exceeded, there frequently is room for the exercise of individual discretion within the framework of the Annual Estimates, and the question of just how such a discretion is to be exercised can present ethical problems.

A third type of trust document is the Ministry Circular. For the civil servant these virtually have the force of law. Theoretically a ministerial instruction either may be contrary to law or may amount to an attempt to exercise a power which the legislature has not conferred but, in practice, this rarely happens and a civil servant (having if necessary offered advice and warning) must obey his Minister's instructions or leave the Service.

Like the trustee, who is not subject to the direction or control of the beneficiaries of the trust, a public servant is not directly subject to the instructions or control of the public whom he serves. It is the Minister and the Legislature who give directions to the public servant, not members of the public. Nonetheless, just as a trustee must have regard (within the terms of

the trust) to the welfare of the beneficiary, so also must a public servant remember that he is a servant of the public and any discretion given to him must be exercised honestly and equitably for the public benefit. The public servant must, however, realise that, unlike a trust the terms of which cannot be varied by the settler, the instructions of government and the Acts of the Legislature can be, and frequently are, varied.

A trustee may break his trust normally only if he has the authority of the court or of all the beneficiaries.[11] A parallel may be found in the case of the public servant; if a court orders him to ignore an instruction of the Executive he must ignore it; all the beneficiaries, in the form of the electorate, may authorise the public servant to ignore executive instructions but only by lawfully changing the Legislature and the Government.

(Perhaps we should note at this point that in English Local Government the Local Authority Fund is in law a trust fund and that the Treasurer is trustee of that fund; if he misapplies it he cannot plead the wrongful orders of his employers, the Council. The trust duties are placed upon him personally.[12]).

Next we should look at the trust property – that which the trustee holds on behalf of another. Nearly every public servant has at least some public property placed under his care and either directly or indirectly he is made responsible for both the safe custody and also the proper use of that property. Of necessity the Government (in the sense of the body of Ministers) must delegate to public servants these functions of caring for public property. The public has entrusted the Ministers with the government of the country, and the Ministers in turn entrust the Civil Service with the property of the public.

Public property may be either tangible or intangible but the same trust principles apply to both.

In the case of "tangibles" the more obvious forms of public property consist of cash, buildings, equipment, stores and vehicles, all of which are placed in the care of individual public servants who are responsible not only for their safe custody and maintenance, but also for their proper use. Just what constitutes proper use is not always clearly specified; a moment's careful reflection, however, almost invariably makes it quite clear whether or not a particular use is proper. A trust has been called "a duty, deemed in equity to rest on the conscience," and a public servant usually does not have to search deeply into his conscience in order to decide whether any particular use is proper. The answer usually is quite clear. The cause of such improper use as does occur is not the difficulty of deciding what is proper and what is not proper, but a failure to attempt to make that decision, a failure which may be merely careless but which may also be deliberate. Misuse in the individually small cases is not necessarily costly to government, and it is possibly this fact which accounts for the conscience of an otherwise completely honest person not being disturbed by the thought of minor misuse of public property.

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[11] *Saunders v. Vautier*, 10. *LJCh*, 354.
[12] *Attorney-General v. De Winton* (1906) 2. *Ch.* 106.

For reasons which are not immediately obvious nearly all public servants place government cash in a special and almost sanctified position; none but the thoroughly dishonest will misuse money entrusted to them. "The direct pillage of the treasury is unlikely, because even a society that expects lax standards is apt to draw the line at plain stealing. But public money may be idle and it can be made to earn interest. There are numerous little percentages and commissions that can come the way of those who wield power"[13]. Possibly the reasons why there is relatively little theft of cash are that the probability of detection is greater and the consequences of detection are more inevitable, severe and disastrous. Certainly government ensures that detailed instructions concerning the safe custody and proper use of cash leave to the individual in central government the bare minimum scope for the use of his own discretion. What is required is the adoption of the same approach to property other than cash; ethically there appears to be no reason for distinguishing between cash and other property.

If it is true to say that the misuse of non-cash property affects the conscience less than the misuse of cash, it is probably even more true to say that the conscience is usually even less ruffled by the misuse of intangible public property. It is possible that some do not even recognise that the misuse of government secrets and confidences, the abuse of powers and duties bestowed upon individuals by government, and the misuse of government time, are breaches of trust. The vast majority of civil servants are paid by time (and indeed it would be exceedingly difficult to do otherwise) and this places a moral burden upon the civil servant not to misuse the time for which he is being paid. Sir Charles Trevelyan, to whom may be attributed a marked improvement in ethics in the Civil Service of Britain during the second half of the last century, whilst noting that the hours of officers of the Treasury were from ten till four, nonetheless commented that "it is considered to be sufficient if everybody is present by half past ten".[14] The more modern and more ethical view was expressed by Sir John Simon: "No man should allow himself to occupy any portion of the time which he is bound to devote to his public duties, in disregard of those public duties, and in pursuing any private interest whatever, whether it is in playing golf or in the nature of business".[15] Not only is time the intangible property of government but so also are secrets and powers and duties; to reveal to unauthorised persons government secrets or confidences – or to use them for one's personal benefit[16] – is clearly improper; and to apply powers or to exercise duties for anything other than the precise purpose for which they were vested is to misuse them and to break a trust.

If, as I believe is the case, it is beneficial for a public servant to look upon himself as a trustee, and upon public property as trust property, what then are his duties and how is he to behave in respect of the trust property? As we have seen, a trust is a duty resting on the conscience; "a confidence reposed in some other person". Where he is not able to find guidance in written documents the public servant is expected to conduct public

[13]R. M. Jackson, *The Machinery of Local Government*, 2nd edition, 1965, p. 374.
[14]Cited in G. A. Campbell, *The Civil Service in Britain*, p. 290.
[15]*Hansard*, 1937, 324 H. C. Deb. 5s. 1220.
[16]Treasury Circular, E 19377 of March 13th, 1928.

affairs and to use public property in accordance with good conscience. Like a trustee he must make no secret profit from the conduct of his trust duties and the handling of trust property. The term "secret profit" covers a wider field than mere financial gain; it includes any unauthorised advantage or any advantage which is unconscionable, whether mildly or markedly so . There are many occasions upon which a public servant is in a position to derive some personal advantage, albeit small, from the exercise of his public duties without breaking the law and without acting contrary to written or verbal instructions. What is it, then, which stands in his way, since he may not always be restricted by law or by administrative instruction? The answer for the trustee and for the public servant is equally simple: his conscience. If the public servant ignores his conscience in these matters the confidence which the public has reposed in him will be broken and the reputation and efficiency of the service will suffer. It is difficult to accept that "conscience can only tell us to do what is right; it cannot tell us what is right"[17] since, for most of us, it is precisely our conscience which guides us in ethical matters.

One of the most important rules of equity regarding a trust is that the trustee must avoid all conflict between his duty and his interest[18]: "a person in a fiduciary position . . . is not allowed to put himself in a position where his interest and duty conflict"[19]. The rule exists because in accepting the trust, the trustee undertakes to do the best he can for the beneficiaries, and if there were a conflict he might be tempted not to do so. It is an equally important rule for the public servant. He should strenuously contrive to avoid placing himself in a position where there is any possibility of a conflict arising between his public duty and his personal interest. If any such conflict arises his course is clear; his duty comes first and his personal interest, not second, but last; indeed, his personal interest ought not to enter into the matter at all.

In technical matters, especially in the application of the trust fund, the trustee is frequently required to obtain "proper advice".[20] It is clearly most desirable that a public servant should also obtain proper advice before spending or recommending the spending of public money. The average civil servant, particularly in the Administrative Class, has no great knowledge or experience of or training in technical matters, yet frequently he is required to make a decision on a matter involving many technical points. He is safe in doing so if he seeks and has regard to the advice, as the law of trusteeship says, of "able and practical" persons whom he reasonably believes are qualified to give advice "by their ability in and practical experience of" the subject in question.[21]

One of the most difficult ethical-administrative problems is to analyse the way in which a discretion should be exercised. On the one hand Parliament confers a discretion rather than imposes a duty, but on the other hand few

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[17]G. W. F. Hegel, cited in C. L. Wayper, *Political Thought*, p. 164.
[18]O. R. Marshall, "Conflict of Interest and Duty," (1955), 8 Current Legal Problems, p. 91.
[19]per Lord Herschell, *Bray v. Ford* (1896) A.C. 44, 51.
[20]Trustee Investments Act, 1961, section 6 (2).
[21]*Ibid*, 196, section 6 (4).

people would accept that a discretion is the power to do entirely as one wishes without restraint. Over the centuries the law has evolved some guidance to trustees in this matter which is of value to us. In exercising his discretion a trustee has a duty to be impartial. Similarly, a public servant is expected to be impartial in his dealings with the public and with other members of the Public Service. Partiality is rapidly followed by a loss of confidence in the public servant who breaks this duty. Repeated favouring of a person or a class of persons quickly leads to lack of confidence and a consequent falling-off in public relations and efficiency. Even the conferring of an isolated favour has its dangers, since it in effect creates a precedent which may be difficult or inequitable not to follow in the future. The law requires that "persons must be just before they are generous",[22] and that a trustee, in exercising his discretion, to do so "with an entire absence of indirect motive, with honesty of intention, and with a fair consideration of the subject"[23]. Is it not desirable that an identical duty should fall upon the public servant?

A trust is imperative and a trustee, once he has accepted the trust, has no choice but to carry it out as directed by the creating instrument, by statute and by the rules of equity. Likewise a public servant; once a man becomes a public servant and so long as he remains a public servant he has no choice but to carry out the instructions given to him by Parliament and by members of the executive senior to himself. He has recognized channels open to him along which he can seek to have the instructions reviewed, revised or reversed, just as a trustee can seek under certain circumstances to have the trust varied, but unless and until the instructions are revised or reversed he must carry them out, or resign. He is not permitted to vary the instructions himself.

The trustee is more hampered than the public servant in the matter of delegation. "It is a general principle that a trustee is not entitled to delegate the trust, for trusteeship is an office of personal confidence"[24]: *delegatus non potest delegare*. In a sense this is true of the public servant because, no matter how much he delegates to others, he remains accountable for the conduct of the duties imposed upon him. Much of the art of administration, however, particularly in the Civil Service, rests on sound delegation. The Minister is answerable for the conduct of public affairs in his Ministry, but of necessity he delegates work to his Permanent Secretary, who in turn delegates certain functions to less senior officers, who also delegate to junior officers. Each officer is given a large measure of discretion – a discretion derived in large part, I believe, from the prerogative – in what and to whom he will delegate, he may delegate the actual performance of public duties to his juniors but he can never delegate the accountability for the performance of those duties. This clearly could place him in a difficult position, but, in practice, he delegates only to the extent to which he thinks it is safe, giving to each of his junior officers as much work as he can safely give, remembering all the time that he is the one who "carries the can" for any mistakes or irregularities.

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[22]per Lord Hatherley, I.C., *Freeman v. Pope* (1870) L.R. 5, Ch. 538.
[23] per Lord Truro, In *Re Beloved Wilkes Charity* (1851), 3 Mac and G. 440.
[24]Lewin, *Trusts*, 16th edition, 1964, o. 174.

It is not only in delegation that a public servant is less restricted than a trustee. In general the duties of a trust are fixed at the time the trust is created; if the objects of the trust are not certain from the beginning, the trust is void. The duties of a public servant, however, are constantly changing; his trust is not static. The work of government must be dynamic and the public servant must assist the Government to move forward. Unlike the trustee, he must be prepared occasionally to "chance his arm" and be courageous, provided that his objective is to further the aims of the government and benefit the public, and provided that the means he adopts for these purposes are in accordance with good conscience.

We must be careful not to try to push the analogy of the public servant as a trustee too far, for there are many ways in which the concept of trusteeship does not fit the position held by a public servant. For example, a trustee is not normally entitled to any remuneration for his work as trustee! There is the difficulty, also, of identifying precisely who is the beneficiary of the trust – sometimes the beneficiary seems to be the government, at others the public. Ideally it ought always to be the public and, where the government itself acts properly as a trustee on behalf of the public, there is little difficulty. Great problems arise where the government does not itself act as a trustee but as a beneficiary – this does not, however, destroy the usefulness of the concept of trusteeship, since, although I have directed the main thrust of my arguments at civil servants, I have deliberately used the term "public servants" and I have done this so as to include the Government itself within the scope of this paper.

Although there are aspects of a trustee's functions which have no parallel in the work of a public servant, it is, I think, clearly of advantage for a public servant to think of himself generally as a trustee. If he does so he will help to achieve the goal of good government and of public administration: increasing the happiness and improving the welfare of the people; and he will assist in building up or maintaining for the Public Service a reputation of being honourable and fair, a reputation which inevitably will lead to greater efficiency. With such a reputation, the Service will command the respect of the public who, as paymasters, quite correctly require their employees to be both civil and of service to them. Respect is an excellent lubricant for the machinery of government.

Colonial Government and Populist Reform: the case of the Ivory Coast—Part 1

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The history of district administration in the Ivory Coast is of general interest for three reasons. First, it provides a quite plain case of continuity from colonial to post-colonial government, at least at village and district levels. Secondly, it has comparative interest as a case in which, *after independence*, the local government institutions of an African territory have deliberately been modelled on those of the metropolitan country. Thirdly it provides a case-study of the problems of manpower shortage and their effects on the reform of institutions.

In the first part of this article a description is given of colonial district administration and then the suggestion is made that some of the principles asserted and the reforms proposed in the late colonial period were highly functional to the survival of the old generalist administrator, despite their apparent concern with promoting "development" and "democracy".

French colonial administration

The colony of the Ivory Coast, established in 1893, covered an area of 123,008 square miles. It was a square-shaped unit, bounded by Liberia and Guinea to the west, the Soudan (now Mali) and Upper Volta to the north, and the Gold Coast to the east. By 1956 the population of the colony had reached 2,661,300 (including the two major towns, Abidjan and Bouaké, which had a combined population of 169,020).[1]

The French always made a firm distinction between urban and rural government. Abidjan, Bouaké, and Grand-Bassam (an earlier colonial capital) had become full communes by 1955: another five towns became communes under administrative supervision in 1955.[2] Outside the towns, the Ivory Coast was divided into administrative *cercles*. In 1959 (the year before independence) there were nineteen *cercles*, with an average area of 6,473 square miles and an average population of 124,544. But these units were not standardised: in population they ranged from 320,000 to 18,000, while one *cercle* covered 16,920 square miles and another only 2,420.

[1]Figures from *Territoire de la Côte-d'Ivoire, Ministere du Plan, Inventaire Economique de la Côte-d'Ivoire* (1947 *à* 1956), *Abidjan* 1958, pp. 19, 26.

[2]On communal organization, see L. Gray Cowan, *Local Government in West Africa*, New York, 1958, pp. 112–118, 152–157, 242–244; T. G. Brierly, "The Evolution of Local Administration in French-speaking West Africa," *Journal of Local Administration Overseas, Vol. V, No. 1, pp.* 56–68; M. J. Campbell, T. G. Brierley and F. F. Blitz, *The Structure of Local Government in West Africa*, The Hague, 1965; Francois Borella, *L'Evolution Politique et Juridique de l'Union francaise depuis* 1946, Paris, 1958.

Indeed, the criteria governing the creation of *cercles* changed several times. Originally, they were conceived as ethnic units: from 1913 until 1939 they were reshaped as units of crop production ("cotton" *cercles*, "coffee" *cercles*, etc.). Yet in the post-War period most *cercles* still had a clear majority of one ethnic group. In 1947 there were ten *cercles* (out of sixteen) in which a particular ethnic group accounted for more than 60 per cent of the population. This became politically important when it was decided to use the *cercles* as constituencies for elections to the territorial assembly set up in 1946.[3]

Each *cercle* was under a general administrator, the *commandant de cercle* (a military title derived from the period of conquest). The *commandant*, appointed by the governor, was a jack-of-all trades. In the Ivory Coast he usually had a short tenure in each post and was generally chronically short of staff as well as money and equipment. But until the late forties the autarchy of the *commandant* was not affected by the presence of technical and social services in the bush: as late as 1951, under 11 per cent of children of school age were actually in class and public development work in other fields was similarly backward.[4] Few inroads were made on the accumulated powers and functions of the *commandant* which included control and "co-ordination" of the technical services, presidency of a *cercle* council of notables, collection of taxes, presidency of the customary law tribunal, control of the different categories of chiefs, the appointment of village chiefs, and preliminary instruction in criminal cases.[5]

The *commandant de cercle* usually had at least one deputy since most *cercles* were divided into sub-divisions. By 1959 there were 50 sub-divisions in the Ivory Coast, with populations ranging from 193,000 to 14,000. Each sub-division was governed by a *chef*, typically a junior career administrator: although there was no formal ranking of sub-divisions, the wide range of units provided a significant framework for the promotion of junior officers. Further, unlike the *cercle*, the sub-division was not a legally recognised unit: the functions delegated to the *chefs de sub-division* were in the

[3]Kenneth Robinson, "Local Government Reform in French Tropical Africa," *Journal of African Administration*, October, 1956.

The effect was that in districts where there was a fairly even balance in population between two ethnic groups, the minority groups began to campaign for the creation of new administrative *cercles*, which would act as constituencies from which to launch ethnic representatives into the assembly. New *cercles* were set up at Aboisso, Odienné, and Bouaflé to appease respectively Agni, Malinke, and Gouro groups who had previously constituted between twenty-seven and thirty-nine per cent of the population of other *cercles*. (On the "Gouro *cercle*," see Claude Meillassoux, *Anthropologie Economique des Gouro de Côte d'Ivoire*, Paris, 1964, pp. 14–15).

[4]France, Service des Statistiques d'Outre-Mer, *Outre-Mer*, 1958, p. 188. By independence the percentage of children going to school had risen to 33.1; but in parts of the north it was well under 20 per cent (Ivory Coast, Ministère de l'Education Nationale . . . *Statistiques 1er Janvier* 1965, Abidjan, 1965, pp. 33; Ministère des Finances, Affaires Economiques et du Plan, *Situation Economique de la Côte d'Ivoire*, 1960, Abidjan, 1961, p.214.

[5]The standard work on Colonial administration in French West Africa is Robert Delavignette, *Freedom and Authority in French West Africa*, repr. London, 1968, See also Gray Cowan, *op. cit.*; R. L. Buell, *The Native Problem in Africa*, New York. 1928, p. 983 ff.; Jean Suret-Canale, *Afrique Noire. L'ere coloniale* 1900–1945, Paris, 1963, pp. 93–106, 116–21, 385–406; Robert Delavignette, *L'Afrique Noire Française et son destin*, Paris, 1962, pp. 40–50, 57–85; and Jacques Lombard, *Autorites traditionnelles et pouvoirs europeens en Afrique noire*, Paris, 1967, passim.

discretion of the *commandants de cercle* concerned. There was thus considerable flexibility to accommodate the office to the capacities and experience of the personnel available. Indeed, the actual creation and abolition of sub-divisions depended on initiatives by *commandants de cercle*.[6]

But the *chef de sub-division* usually performed all the functions of the *commandant de cercle* within his district. Under him were two classes of official chiefs, the canton chiefs and the village chiefs. The first were the true administrative chiefs, appointed to supervise the village chiefs and paid and promoted within an official scale. The cantons were commonly non-traditional units and the chiefs were variously recruited (a large number were government clerks, though they usually served in their home areas). In 1939 there were 516 canton chiefs in the territory.

The village chiefs were designated by the elders or the generality of their own communities, the choice being confirmed by decision of the *commandant de cercle*. They were not salaried but received a rebate on the proceeds of the head-tax.[7]

Apart from communication by way of the canton chiefs, the only channel for political expression at district level was the council of notables. The members of this body were selected by the *chef de sub-division* who drew up its agenda and presided over its meetings. While the council was mandated to consider local tax rates and development projects, its role was merely consultative: in practice the councils of notables often failed to exercise even the powers given to them, simply rubber-stamping the *chef de sub-division's* proposals.[8]

Decolonisation and district administration

The neat hierarchy of colonial administration was threatened after 1945 by the rise of political parties and the expansion of the technical services. Between 1946 and 1951 district officers were locked in conflict with local branches of the major party, the P.D.C.I., led by Felix Houphouet-Boigny. Although at the end of this conflict the P.D.C.I. appeared to have lost much support, the French administration was severely shaken. During the "repression" period there had been a great deal of intrigue between factions in the central administration; at district level administrators had been left high and dry, with insufficient equipment and resources, so that their response to political opposition was sometimes over-repressive and frequently ineffective, in either case making their position more difficult. The inadequacy,

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[6] J. C. Froelich, unpublished paper entitled *La vie d'un commandant de cercle*; Devalignette, *Freedom and Authority*, p. 71.

[7] See Lombard, *op. cit.*, pp. 105–44; Suret-Canale, *op. cit.*, pp. 96–111, 406–414; Robert Cornevin, *L'evolution des chefferies dans l'Afrique Noire d'expression française*, Penant, 1961, Nos. 686–7; Delavignette, *Freedom and Authority.*, Ch. V. In the Ivory Coast chieftaincy was regulated by an *arrêté* of Governor Reste (No. 3206. BP of October, 10th 1934).

[8] These councils were set up by a decree of May 21st, 1919. On their operation between the Wars, see Buell, *op. cit.*, vol. I, pp. 998–1001; Lombard, *op. cit.*, pp. 133–4.

corruption, and unpopularity of their auxiliaries, the canton chiefs, were fully exposed.[9]

While the reconciliation between the P.D.C.I. and the administration after 1951 took much of the pressure off the district administrators, the French were now alert to the fragility of their political position and prepared to make radical changes to strengthen it. And, ironically, the desire of the French to frustrate the African Whigs led the colonial authorities to put on foot reforms which were ultimately squashed by their successors as prematurely democratic.

(a) The reform of chieftaincy

Two schools of thought emerge from the documents of this period. One, the romantic-traditionalist, believed in reviving village and tribal chieftaincy and aligning local government to these institutions. The canton chiefs would be demoted or removed, since they were "artificial" and had alienated the leaders of the "real" communities from colonial government. In the early fifties such proposals were not at all new: concern about the canton chiefs' lack of authority and uneasiness about their manner of appointment appear in district reports in the thirties, as do suggestions to restore traditional authority.

The experiences of the "repression" period certainly fed the anxieties about "administrative" chiefs; but they also revealed, to some administrators, the futility of "going back to tradition". This was especially clear in districts inhabited by acephalous groups or groups with a highly localized chieftaincy. In 1951 the administrator of one such district wrote the following curt appraisal: "I think it is absurd in areas like Bouaflé (and there are many analogous cases in the Ivory Coast) to talk about traditional titles in regard to the nomination of chiefs. There are no such things and there never have been . . . "[10] In many communities it was simply too late. Fifty years of colonial rule had left the succession in total confusion and even where a "traditional" chief was still in office, most of the supporting conditions of "traditionalism" had disappeared: too many "traditional" chiefs were driving round coffee plantations in shooting brakes, selling land, and running businesses.

Increasingly, the preservationists in the administration recognized that times had changed. But their acceptance that the environment in which chieftaincy operated had changed did not affect their belief in the utility of the institution itself. So, from the late forties, the romantics fought a curious rearguard action in which concession after concession was made to "the demands of the situation" in the hope that such tactics would somehow allow the real essence of chieftaincy to survive and flourish. To meet the politicians half-way, it was suggested that chiefs should be elected; to accommodate the "modernisers" in the administration, it was proposed that chiefs should be given administrative training and wider administrative

[9]The feuding within the administration and the overall limitations on its capacity to deal with the P.D.C.I. come out clearly in the evidence put before a visiting Parliamentary commission.

[10]Sub-division de Bouaflé, *Rapport politique*, 1951.

functions.[11] The objection to such proposals was only too clear: after having been reformed, elected, and trained, in what sense would a chief still be a Chief?

(b) "Local government"

Interestingly, although a number of district officers saw the dilemma of a "modernised" chieftaincy, none to the writer's knowledge took the next step and suggested abolishing chieftaincy. Rather they tended to retain the notion of a reformed chieftaincy in combination with the idea that there should be greater public participation in district government. This latter idea appeared in the early fifties and the school promoting it had what might be called a "building-block" theory of political development. The key to ordered and orderly change was to be the rural commune or *collectivite*. Henri Labouret, a colonial administrator, wrote: " . . . the focus of education . . . is the rural commune, which furnishes an initial experience at the primary stage in an apprenticeship for political, administrative, and economic life, rising progressively and methodically to form wider horizons".[12]

The Ivory Coast administration first applied this notion by trying to revive the district councils of notables. In 1952 and 1953 district administrators were instructed to widen membership of these bodies so as to assimilate the "new elements" – party men, teachers, traders, etc. At the same time a *cercle* tax was introduced: the revenue from this tax was specifically assigned to development projects in the localities and the councils of notables were to decide on its use. However, the control exercised by the *commandant de cercle* or *chef de sub-division* remained as before.

In 1954 more radical suggestions were made. The governor, Pierre Messmer, circulated a paper which proposed that communal councils should be established, with elected members and independent budgets. Messmer believed that, "the best way to awaken a community is to give it control of its own resources under reasonable supervision".[13] The new communes would be entities recognized in law (in legal terms, each would have a *personnalité morale*). But, if Messmer believed that there should be "boldness in the establishment of new institutions," he also advised "prudence in the reform of traditional institutions". Within the councils there should be

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[11]At Bouafle again, the *chef de sub-division* remarked: "the canton chief should become . . . an educated civil servant, accomplished in administrative practices and trained for this purpose in a special school". (*Rapport politique* 1954). Similar suggestions were made by (for example) the administrator of the very different south-eastern district of Bongouanou. The failure of the French to educate and subsidise the chiefs was criticised by the Ivoirien writer and civil servant, F. J. Amon d'Aby, in *La probleme des chefferies traditionnelles en Côte d'Ivoire*, Abidjan, 1959, pp. 30, 33–4.

[12]*Colonisation, Colonialisme, Décolonisation*, Paris, 1952, p. 188. J. C. Froelich, then head of the bureau of political affairs in the Ivory Coast administration, referred to the communes as "true schools for democracy" (*L'Organisation Politique et Administrative de l'Afrique Noire*, seminar paper, Paris, 1968, p. 27). Cf. J. M. Lee on the British experience: " . . . the whole post-war movement for introducing local government into the colonies was modelled on the belief that experience in working a local authority provided training in democracy". (*Colonial Development and Good Government*, Oxford, 1967, p. 173).

[13]Pierre Messmer, *Les Collectivités Locales dans les Territoires d'Outre-Mer*, n.d. (1954?). At the time he wrote, there was a proposal before the National Assembly for the establishment of councils and budgets at *cercle* level.

places for designated chiefs: chieftaincy itself should be drawn in "a democratic direction".

Although no general reform of chieftaincy was carried out, the French did get legislative approval for rural communes.[14] A decree of April 1957 (consequent on the general reforms under the *loi-cadre* of 1956) provided for the creation of such communes, to be run by elected councils with functions and finances similar to those of municipal councils. The size of the unit concerned was not specified in the decree:[15]

"the major criteria . . . should be the consciousness of a common interest and the possibility of balancing a budget."[16]

The governor was empowered to adapt the provisions of the decree to circumstances in his territory. In November 1957 all *commandants de cercle* and *chefs de sub-division* were asked to propose areas or committees in which communes might be installed. A small number of communes would then be suggested to the territorial assembly. The circular explained that each council would have ten members, elected under universal suffrage. In urban areas the president would be the mayor of a municipality whose role would be to act as representative of both the state and the commune; whereas in a rural commune the district administrator would continue to represent the state, exercising general tutelage on its behalf. The president (like the other councillors) would be unpaid: his powers would include management of the budget, preparation of estimates, representation of the commune in legal cases, selection of tenders, and control of technical services.[17]

Despite the creation in 1958 of a *Service des Affaires Communales et des Collectivités Rurales* within the new Ministry of the Interior, the rural communes never materialised.[18] The new legislation coincided with the institution of effective self-government in the territory, with Ivoirien ministers selected from the territorial assembly. Indeed, all French officials resigned, at least formally, in May 1957. While there was little immediate change in personnel or organization, the quiet demise of the rural communes is clearly related to the dethroning of the French general administrators at this point.

The generalist ideology and local government

Why was local democracy choked off in this way? At first glance, there are two paradoxes: first, that colonial administrators with a distinctly autocratic tradition should rather suddenly become *narodnik* democrats; secondly, that an African government, claiming to be democratic and radical

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[14]As late as 1956 the governor wrote to district administrators describing changes in the salary structure of canton chieftaincy and other minor reforms as part of an attempt to effect "a restoration of chieftaincy" (Governor to commandants de cercle, February 1st, 1956).

[15]The decree (No. 57,461 of April 4th, 1957) applied to all the sub-Saharan territories, except Togo. In the latter territory, as well as in Cameroun and Madagascar, rural communes were set up from 1955 onwards. See Gray Cowan, *op. cit.*, pp. 114–5, 265; also pp. 218–9.

[16]Minister of the Interior to *commandants de cercle*, circular No. 2745 I/CAB/BC of November 22nd, 1957.

[17]*Ibid.*

[18]The service was set up by *arrêté* No. 302/INT/CG of March 21st, 1958.

should stamp on a moderate and restricted experiment in grass-roots democracy.

(The rationale of the inheritance regime's treatment of the districts will be discussed in the second part of this article). Clearly, the inheritance regime's attitudes may have been affected by its view of the relationship of the proposed local government reform to colonialism. In this respect, closer examination of the arguments surrounding such reform and of the political situation of the colonial government suggests that, from the point of view of the P.D.C.I., this concern with local government may have seemed conservative in its implications, inspired by a wish to brake political change.

Indeed, suggestions for local government reform were quite often justified by the argument that participation in territorial and metropolitan assemblies had proceeded disproportionately to the widening of participation at district and village level. Messmer remarked: " . . . it is illogical not to involve the inhabitants of a village in running their own affairs when they have been made (sic) to participate in the management of more general interests through elections to the territorial assemblies and, through legislative elections, in the management of national affairs".[19] The 1952 circular on the councils of notables said that the local councils were being overshadowed by the territorial assembly and the 1953 circular made it clear that reform of these councils would have the effect of neutralizing the party extremists.[20]

In this context the P.D.C.I. may have felt that the administration was engaged in the old colonial tactic of mobilizing the traditionalists on the periphery against the élite at the centre: that "rural communes" were a subtle device for getting at "educated natives," tarring them with their own brush.[21]

Indeed, this episode, as well as tactics used earlier by the French administration, suggests further that late colonial policy was in some respects populist: it sought to raise the political status of the small rural community as a check on the more cosmopolitan, educated and even capitalist urban élite. It was inspired by many of the "anti" feelings sparked by the impact of the colonial economy itself on the rural community.

But this view is tenable only if we distinguish between interests within the administration: and the distinction appears to be one between the old "general administrators" and the specialists brought in to implement post-War development plans.

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[19]Pierre Messmer, *Les Collectivités Locales dans les Territoires d'Outre-Mer*. Under the Fourth Republic's constitution, Africans were elected to seats in the French National Assembly, the senate, and the Assembly of the French Union. Each territory had a territorial assembly (initially called "general council") elected on a restricted franchise and without control of the executive or the civil service.

[20]The 1953 circular stressed that the councils must be "apolitical"; "Their meetings must be conducted in the atmosphere of an administrative council. Accordingly all political and ideological overtones should be eliminated and all oratorical attempts and questions of principle should be avoided". (Circular No. 60066 AP/F of February 26th, 1953).

[21]Lee records that the British Colonial Secretary stated in 1948 that strong local authorities were needed, "to act as counter-weights to a central authority which too often passes into the hands of a native oligarchy when the colonial phase comes to an end". (*Colonial Development and Good Government*, p. 182).

The writings of colonial administrators from the early fifties exude a sweet melancholy over the fate of the old *commandants de cercle*. Robert Delavignette laments: "the . . . role of the district administrator (*chef de circonscription*) is no longer the same. It is absorbed by the tentacles of an administration which press upon him in the bush from afar. The *commandant* is giving up the garb of a jack-of-all-trades to put on that of a prefect-co-ordinator. (His job is) to maintain agreement between and concert the efforts of the technicians."[22]

But this was a far cry from the epic days of the *rois de la brousse*, as Labouret complained:

" . . . in the past, the administrators had extensive powers demanding the qualities of a chief. But the encroachments of bureaucracy have paralysed a good deal of initiative".[23] The *commandant* was also romantically anti-bureaucratic in his relations with Africans; indeed he stood between the latter and the outside world. For Delavignette, he and his colleagues were the opposite of soulless bureaucrats:

"We were not auxiliaries in the outposts of a command system which dictated orders to us . . . more than any *intendant* of the monarchy . . . more than the prefect bequeathed by Napoleon . . . we had to live and work, as solitary activists, in parts of Africa which no capital could understand as we did"[24]. Those who stood for "good government" first and "development" only second reacted to the spread of technicians by reasserting the principle of hierarchy: and this principle required that all correspondence from one level to another should pass through the relevant "representatives of government" – whether the governor or the *commandant*, but invariably a "generalist". Just after the war there was a two-year experiment in which the technical services were given autonomy. But from 1949 onwards the *voie hiérarchique* was re-established by a series of circulars.

The argument of these circulars was always that "co-ordination" was a requisite for development:

"This synthesis can be achieved conveniently only under the authority of one official, the sole representative of the government in his area. His role is all the more necessary in view of the multiplication and expansion of technical services".[25]

Again, in 1956, the High Commissioner for French West Africa declared that, "the district officer should have a pre-eminent role in the rural development programme. It is he who should be the intermediary, the stimulus, the person responsible for the development of his district according to a previously established plan . . . It is essential that the administration traditionally called that of 'authority' should take on all the responsibilities which such authority implies, if it does not want to see it limited to a shining but hollow facade. Responsibility supposes unity and direct control of the means of implementation".[26]

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[22]"Des 'Commandants' Français aux Préfets Africains," Le Mois en Afrique, No. 2 (February 1966), p. 36.
[23]*Colonisation, Colonialisme, Decolonisation*, p. 179.
[24]*L'Afrique Noire Française et son destin*, p. 43.
[25]Circular No. 1143/CAB of October 25th, 1952.
[26]Letter of High Commissioner to governors, January 18th, 1956 (No. 55. SE/Plan.).

The argument seems plausible, until we ask: what does "co-ordination" mean in concrete terms? What qualifications did the "general administrator" have to perform this role? Looking at the services usually concerned, it is rather difficult to see how, for example, the educational service and road-building could be "co-ordinated". And even if the public works organization could contribute to an expansion of schools, it is not clear what technical skills the *commandant* or his subordinates could bring to such co-operation.

It is tempting to conclude that the "need for co-ordination" was significant mainly as a slogan of the general administrator on the defensive. After all, the alternatives were, first to allow the local technical services to carry out their work independently, with co-operation effected between the ministerial heads or *via* a planning commission at central level, or, secondly, to put the services under the control of local councils. In either case the general administrator's range of authority would have been sharply reduced.

But it was an administration dominated by generalists which was pressing for the creation of local councils: does that fact not undermine the theory of a "generalist" interest and ideology seeking to preserve itself? Not necessarily: the 1957 rural commune proposals in fact kept a substantial place for the generalist as representative of the state and tutor of the commune. This was quite acceptable since it held at bay the evil spirits of central bureaucracy and *évolué* politics. [27]

It would be interesting to consider another, related fashion of the fifties, community development, in the light of the generalists' interest. Schaffer has remarked that the ethos of this movement was deceptive:

" . . . behind the egalitarian colour of its normative themes lies something different: hierarchical, biased, committed. It is a political movement, not an administrative strategy at all . . . It is, in the end, an essentially romantic movement, by an intelligentsia, for "the people", like that of the *Volia i Zemlia* of the narodniks – with all the potential authoritarianism that that implies".[28]

In these respects the community development movement had many features in common with the generalist ethic: a romantic revulsion from impersonal bureaucracy, a refusal to achnowledge that communities were no longer even mainly masters of their own fate, a mystical parochialism which glorified the small-scale, undifferentiated society, for its own sake, as somehow more "real" than, and morally superior to, the anomic world of the big city politicians and intellectuals.

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[27]Cf, again, Lee, on the effects of local government reform on the generalists: " . . . the new policy of local government in many colonies implied that each local council was the personal empire of its own presiding administrative officer . . . If the philosophy of indirect rule implied a benevolent squirearchy of independent gentlemen, the practice of local government suggested the proliferation on a smaller scale of enlightened governors". (*op. cit.*, p. 179).

Lee concludes that, for the official classes, "there was something attractive in retaining the universal mandate of the district commissioner in a new form, provided that some degree of central control could continue to be exercised". (*op. cit.*, p. 184).

[28]B. B. Schaffer, "The Deadlock in Development Administration," in Colin Leys (ed.), *Politics and Change in Developing Countries. Studies in the Theory and Practice of Development*, Cambridge, 1969, p. 204.

It is really not surprising – and certainly not a matter for facile scorn – that the national politicians met the colonial administration's passion for getting back to the grass roots with reserve. It is perhaps ironic, but no more surprising, that the various ramifications of generalist strategy should be justified as promoting "democracy" and "development" when, on scrutiny, their underlying values in francophone Africa were monocratic, paternalistic, and conservative. For, to win support, it is usually necessary to adopt and exploit the rhetoric of public debate.

The world of the fifties was certainly a strange and uncomfortable world for the *commandants* of French colonial administration. In 1957, as one of their number wrote later, they found themselves cut off: guidance from above ceased and they were left to divine the will of their African government, they felt themselves at the mercy of the local party men and, "in case of conflict, it was obvious to everybody that the French Government would consistently come down against the governor".[29] Delavignette, writing in 1962, was moved to intone this farewell eulogy on the French Administrators:
"They were not courtiers, much less demagogues. And it was written that they would be alone. Forgotten by a new African world over whose birth they had watched, it remained for them to drink a bitter cup which was not that of being denigrated as anti-colonialists but that of being magnified in colonial stereotypes which conveyed none of their true greatness".[30] Sad, but misleading, at least in relation to the Ivory Coast. For that country, as we shall see, the valediction should rather conclude with a tribute to the strength of tradition: "The colonial service is dead: long live the school of public administration."

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[29]Froelich, *L'Organisation Politique et Administrative de l'Afrique Noire* p. 22.
[30]*L'Afrique Noire Francaise, et son destin*, pp. 49–50.

Municipal Tax Administration in Rajasthan

By D. S. CHAUDHARY

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The Rajasthan Municipalities Act, 1959 empowers the municipal bodies to impose a number of taxes.[1] The Act classifies taxes into "obligatory" and 'others'. Under obligatory taxes[2] the rates and manner of imposition are governed by the rules framed or approved by the state government. These taxes are: tax on the annual letting value of buildings and land; octroi on goods and tax on professions and vocations. Other taxes can be levied, subject to general or specific orders of the state government. They include tax on vehicles, animals, tolls, scavenging, sanitation, water, light, trade, etc.

The municipalities in Rajasthan do not show a uniform pattern of levying taxes, some of them levying just one tax and others as many as twelve.[3] These taxes fall mainly on the wealthier and more influential sections of the electorate, and municipalities show reluctance to impose even the obligatory taxes. For instance, no tax is levied on professions and vocations and even the house tax is levied only by some municipalities.

At present octroi tax and house tax are the two major sources of revenue of the municipal bodies in the state. Nearly 85 per cent of the total revenue of municipal bodies is dervied from the octroi tax alone. On the recommendation of the rural-urban relationship committee for abolition of octroi tax, because of malpractices in its collection and because of the elaborate procedure involved in the process of refund making the octroi costly, the Government of Rajasthan has recently taken the decision to levy a Turn Over Tax,[4] instead of octroi. In place of the existing octroi tax, the Finance Minister now intends to levy a Turn Over Tax on the assessees of sales tax and its proceeds would be made over to the municipalities after deducting administrative expenses. The basis of payment of the Turn Over Tax to the municipalities would be the amount equal to its actual net income from octroi in 1967–68, or the average net income during the three years preceding 1st April, 1968, whichever is higher.

The second important source of income of municipalities in Rajasthan is the property tax, i.e. house tax and tax on land. A full scale discussion of the administration of all the taxes of municipal bodies is not possible within the scope of this paper and therefore only the administration of the house and property tax will be discussed here.

[1]Rajasthan Municipalities Act, 1959, Section 104.
[2]*Ibid.*, Section 105
[3]C. P. Bhambhri & P. S. Verma: *Municipalities and their finances in Rajasthan*, 1959, p. 26.
[4]Budget speech of the Finance Minister, Government of Rajasthan, for the year 1969–70, Government Press, Jaipur, p. 26–27.

Administration of property tax

Taxes on lands and buildings have been placed under the State list in India.[5] Conventionally, the levy, collection and utilization of the property tax is transferred by the State government to the local bodies. In Rajasthan the property tax is an obligatory tax[6] imposed by the municipal bodies on the annual letting value of buildings and lands within the municipal limits. The tax is levied on the basis of actual gross annual rental value. The procedure for the imposition of the tax has been laid down in the Municipalities Act.[7]

The property tax, which is one of the direct local taxes, produces relatively large amounts of revenue, and the future of municipal finances depends on the full exploitation of this tax on lands and buildings.[8] In fact, in the States where octroi is not levied, it is the most lucrative source of revenue to the municipal bodies. Its percentage contribution to the total tax revenue[9] is as high as 82 per cent in West Bengal, 78 per cent in Assam, 77 per cent in Bihar, 47 per cent in Tamilnadu, and 46 per cent in Bombay. In Rajasthan, the property tax contributes 20 to 25 per cent to the revenue receipts of the municipalities, depending on the growth of the city. Therefore it is of the greatest importance that the tax be administered efficiently in order to get the best possible results.

Administration of the property taxes consists of four stages: valuation of properties, levy of taxes, hearing of objections and collection.

First, all taxable property in the city is checked and brought on to the register by the chief executive officer. The value of each property is then assessed according to the statutory provision. Such valuation needs to be done ordinarily once in every five years. Generally, charitable, philanthropic and religious buildings and institutions like schools, colleges and hospitals are exempted from this tax. In Rajasthan, even the government buildings are exempted from this levy.*

The second phase involves decision by the executive committee, house-tax committee and the Council with regard to rates of taxes on different valuation groups for the following year and the exemption of properties from full or partial property taxes. The tax rates so determined are applied by the executive authority to the individually assessed valuations.

In the third phase the objections against the valuation of properties and assessment of taxes are heard by the house tax committee and by the executive committee of the council. These committees have also the power to make alterations or amendments in the assessment list.

Collections, the last phase, include billing, receiving and accounting for the tax payments.

The administration of property tax is in fact influenced by many forces.

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[5]The Constitution of India, Act. 246(2), Seventh Schedule, List II, Item 49.
[6]*Op. cit*, Sections 104 and 105.
[7]*Ibid.*, Section 108.
[8]Rural-urban Relationship Committee, 1966, Government of India, p. 95.
[9]*Ibid.*, p. 113.
**Common practice in many countries is for government buildings to be exempt rom local rating but for an equivalent contribution to be made in lieu.* (Ed.).

The parties choose different strategies for their own ends. The owner of the property is interested in undervaluation. The valuation officials of the municipal bodies may be tempted to become a party to undervaluation. They are ill-paid, susceptible to corruption and frequently come under undue influence of the rich and the powerful. The tax-payers, who include elected councillors, are interested either in minimum tax levy or in none at all. For instance, in Rajasthan, the house-tax has not been levied by most of the municipalities either because of the reluctance on the part of the municipal councillors or because of the strong opposition of the tax-payers. Recently the reaction to municipal administrators endeavouring to impose house-tax met with vehement opposition[10] by influential local* bodies in Jodhpur, Bikaner and Ganganagar. If there happens to be a strong section of the business community either in the house-tax committee or in the council, it makes an all-out effort for lower tax rates. The greatest pressures are exercised during the period when objections are heard by the house-tax committee. The tax-payer makes every attempt he can at this stage to get his taxes reduced. His success usually depends upon the degree of his influence upon the committee members. The members are also tax-payers and they go one step farther. With the connivance of representatives and officials, the tax-payers evade payment of taxes even after they have been fixed and demands have been issued.

Assessment or its review is a technical function with which the councillors are generally unfamiliar. Moreover, the councillors are either over-sympathetic or biased. It is a very real problem to secure fearless, impartial and uniform assessment. In 1925, Mr. S. W. Goode, secretary, local self-government department, Government of West Bengal, observed in his evidence before the Indian Taxation Enquiry Committee: "No reform in local administration is more urgently necessary than to secure fearless, impartial and uniform assessment".[11] Mr. G. T. Boag, commissioner, Madras Corporation, in his evidence before the same committee said, "In my experience I have found that independence of officers responsible for assessment from any control on the part of the electorate is absolutely essential."[12]

The yield from the property taxes could easily be doubled if suitable machinery for assessment and collection of the property taxes were provided.[13] The Taxation Enquiry Commission, the Local Finance Enquiry Committee and the Committee on Augmentation of Financial Resources of urban local bodies, have all stressed the need for impartial and independent machinery to secure fair assessment.

The annual reports of the municipal bodies in the state throw sufficient light on the strategies adopted by the tax-payers and on the role played by the elected representatives to minimise the effect of tax levy. It will be of interest to cite a few examples:

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[10]Rajasthan Patrika, dated 8th, 15th and 21st January, 1970.

*Authorities within the Panchayati Raj system of local government. (Ed.).

[11]*Taxation Enquiry Committee Report*, 1926, *Vol. V and VII*, *p.* 507.

[12]*Ibid.*, *p.* 1084.

[13]Report of the Rural-urban Relationship Committee, Government of India, 1966, Vol. I, pp.95-96.

(i) In 1962, for levying house-tax, the house-tax department of Alwar municipality assessed 11,922 houses and found 4,885 taxable. The revising authority finalised the assessment list for an amount of Rs.174,324.* The authorities served demand notices on the assessees. This resulted in opposition by those assessed and the local political parties jumped into the fray. As a result of strong opposition, the house-tax has still not been imposed even today.

(ii) In Bikaner, the house-tax was first levied in 1960. During the term of the administrator (1961–64), some serious efforts were made to expedite assessment, valuation and realisation but, when elected representatives returned in January 1964, owing to political reasons, a period of "reluctant mobility" came back. In May 1964, the elected council passed resolutions for the house-tax realised earlier to be refunded. The council did not show house-tax as an item in the budget *pro forma*, though the state government raised objections on that score. For the next financial year, the elected council abolished the house-tax. But the state government took a firm attitude and advised the municipal council to the contrary, as the house-tax was deemed obligatory, and also vital for the financial viability of the municipality. The municipality however, succeeded in getting a legal stay order in its own favour in April 1966, which was subsequently revised in August 1966, on the government's appeal. Again in January 1967, the administrator took over the charge of the municipality. Three inspectors were appointed and the matter of house-tax realisation was taken up seriously once more. Consequently, a sum of Rupees one lakh was realised within less than a year.

(iii) It would not be out of place to point out here that Kota Municipality could not impose the house-tax because of the continuous opposition of the Jan Sangh party. Similarly, as stated earlier, vehement local opposition in Jodhpur, Bikaner and Ganganagar was voiced strongly against the levy of house tax and the result was that the tax could not be imposed in these municipalities.

The Jaipur Municipal Council decided to levy the house-tax in 1952 and its actual recovery was started in 1953–54. From 1953 to 1960, the rate of tax was only 5 per cent on the annual rental value, which, from April 1960, was increased to 6¼ per cent. Similarly, prior to March 1961, the exemption limit of rental value of a house was Rs.300/–; it was lowered to Rs. 120/– in 1960–61 and again increased to Rs.180/– in December 1961. There are three revenue officers in the house-tax department. Two are responsible for the management of the office and the other, called the "revising authority," deals with objections against assessment and allows remissions. The department has three assessors and a number of inspectors for making assessment and for the realisation of tax. Door-to-door collection is also made through the official machinery of the department.

The following table shows the income of the Jaipur Municipal Council from house-tax since 1964–65.

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*At the end of 1970 the rate of exchange was approximately 18 Rupees to the pound (Ed.)

TABLE I

Year	*Property tax (Amount in Rs)*	*Total tax revenue (Amount in Rs)*	*Percentage of property tax to total tax revenue*
1964–65 ...	774,136	3,410,817	22.7
1965–66 ...	714,928	3,172,178	22.5
1966–67 ...	694,842	3,627,421	19.2
1967–68 ...	1,067,543	3,799,119	28.2
1968–69 ...	1,127,211	5,295,971	21.3

SOURCE.—A Study conducted by the present author of income and expenditure of Jaipur Muncipal Council.

From the above figures it is clear that the average percentage contribution of the property tax to total tax revenue comes around 23 per cent. The yields, though subject to variations from year to year, have been substantial.

The rapid growth and expansion of localities has resulted in much increased house construction in Jaipur. Consequently, there is an ever-increasing income potential from house-tax well beyond that achieved by existing collections. This, however, presupposes qualified, competent and honest tax assessing machinery so as to counteract the dangers of under-assessment, undertaken subject to various mounting pressures exerted by fair means and foul.

In Britain responsibility for property valuation for local rating purposes lies with the Board of Inland Revenue – a central government department. This system of centralised assessments makes for uniformity in performance standards and for fair and impartial valuations undertaken by professionals and well trained staff. This is the pattern that would best serve the needs of Indian States and in Rajasthan there has been a move in this direction. The decision to set up a central valuation agency under the Directorate of Local Bodies has yet to be made, but in some municipal councils officers have been appointed by the State Government for property assessment duties, on an experimental basis.

Another problem connected with house-tax is that of arrears which will be clear from the table below concerning the Jaipur Municipal Council:

TABLE 2

Year	*Tax arrears (Amount in Rs)*
1964–65	1,285,186
1965–66	1,470,158
1966–67	1,675,316
1967–68	1,810,302
1968–69	1,653,104

SOURCE.—A study conducted by the present author of income and expenditure of Jaipur Municipal Council.

The arrears of property taxes in Jaipur run into a very great sum every year. The council suffers from chronic inefficiency in matters of tax collection in spite of sufficient powers having been given in this regard to the municiapl council. Under-valuation, neglect over the recovery of taxes, with the connivance of municipal officials, and pressure by various vested interest groups against the use of coercive powers is a major challenge faced by the urban local bodies in the state.[14]

[14] The Rural-Urban Relationship Committee has observed: "The municipal bodies have woefully neglected the work of recovery of taxes. Arrears continue to accumulate until they become irrecoverable and have to be written off.
The heavy arrears of taxes and dues in the large number of local bodies are mainly due to lack of proper and adequate collecting and supervisory staff and unwillingness of the collection agency to take prompt and timely action (op. cit.,) p.99.

Quarterly Notes

The British Institute of International and Comparative Law

Conference on Developments in the Marriage Laws of the Commonwealth

A very successful conference on "Developments in the Marriage Laws of the Commonwealth" was held under the auspices of the British Institute of International and Comparative Law at Cumberland Lodge during the week-end of 17th to 20th April, 1970.

The conference was opened on Friday, 17th April, by the Rt. Hon. Lord Justice Cross who gave a short introductory address. His speech was followed by a lecture by Mr. W. Latey, C.B.E., Q.C., a former Divorce Commissioner of the High Court of Justice in England, on "The Recognition of Foreign and Commonwealth Decrees of Divorce." The Chairman at this session was Lord Justice Cross.

Proceedings on the second day began with a paper by Dr. Ahmad M. Ibrahim on "Developments in the Marriage Laws in Malaysia and Singapore". The Chairman was the Hon. Mr. Justice Ong, Chief Justice of Malaysia and Chairman of the Malaysian Royal Commission on the marriage laws. The next speaker was Dr. W. C. Ekow Daniels of the Faculty of Law of the University of Ghana who gave a talk on "The Legal Effects of Conversion of Customary Marriages into Monogamous Marriages – and of De-Conversion", which was followed by an intervention by Mr. S. H. A. George, Solicitor-General of The Gambia on "The Position in the Gambia". The Chairman on this occasion was Mr. H. M. Joko Smart of the Department of Law, Fourah Bay College, University of Sierra Leone.

In the afternoon Mr. Eugene Cotran, of the School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London, and Member and Secretary of the Kenya Commission on the Law of Marriage and Divorce, delivered a lecture on "Developments in the Matrimonial Laws of East Africa since Independence." The Chairman at this session was Mr. T. O. Kellock, Q.C., Director of the Legal Division of the Commonwealth Secretariat. After dinner, a talk entitled "The Concept of the Breakdown of Marriage: A Comparative Survey" was delivered by Dr. K. R. Simmonds, Director of the British Institute of International and Comparative Law, the Chairman being Mr. W. Latey, Q.C.

The morning of the third day, which was a Sunday, was left free. After lunch, papers were read by Mr. T. K. K. Iyer, of the School of Oriental and African Studies, on "Recent Developments in the Matrimonial Laws of India and Proposed Reforms" and by Dr. F. K. M. A. Munim, a Senior Advocate of the Supreme Court of Pakistan on "The Marriage Laws of Pakistan". The Chairman at this session was Mr. N. L. Vaidyanathan, Legal Adviser to the High Commissioner for India. This was followed by a discussion session presided over by Mr. E. Cotran at which all papers at the conference were considered and questions on them answered.

Among those present, in addition to those specifically mentioned above, were Mr. L. C. B. Gower, a Member of the English Law Commission, Mr. C. P. T. Burke, Barrister-at-Law, Mrs. Mary Burke, Deputy Director of the Commonwealth Institute, London, Mr. H. Haniffa and Mr. V. C. Kothari, Barristers-at-Law, Mr. I. G. F. Karsten of the Faculty of Law, University of Southampton; Mr. S. T. H. Goh of the University of Oxford, Mr. H. H. Marshall, Deputy Director of the British Institute and Miss J. R. Crosbie, Research Officer of the British Institute. There were present altogether 24 senior guests and 34 students of whom 6 were from Nigeria, 5 from Kenya, 4 from Pakistan, 2 each from Australia, Ghana, India, Malawi and Sierra Leone, and one each from Barbados, Gambia, Guyana, Malaysia, Rhodesia, Tanzania, Trinidad, Uganda and Zambia.

It was a great pleasure to the Institute to welcome to the conference Mrs. Ong, Mrs. Marshall and the wives of some of the other senior guests. Their presence greatly added to the social atmosphere and the enjoyment of the occasion.

Qatar – *Provisional Constitution*

A new provisional constitution for Qatar was introduced on April 2nd, 1970 and included the following Articles:

The Head of State

"The Ruler (H.H. Sheikh Ahmad bin Ali al-Thani) shall be the Head of State." (*Article* 20).

The Deputy Ruler (H.H. Sheikh Khalifa bin Hamad al-Thani) is Heir-Apparent "in pursuance and by virtue of the consensus of the responsible notables which was arrived at and declared in Qatar on October 24th, 1960." Rulership of the State is hereditary in the al-Thani family. (*Article* 22).

The Ruler's powers include representation of Qatar internally and "towards other states in all international relations"; convention of meetings of the Council of Ministers and presidency of them "whenever he is of the opinion that the highest interest of the State so requires"; ratification and promulgation of laws and decrees; appointment and dismissal of senior civil and military servants; and cancellation or reduction of any penalty by decree. (*Article* 23).

The Ruler is also empowered to assume "supreme command and supervision of the armed forces". In the discharge of these duties he will be assisted by a Defence Council to be established by decree with the "power to submit its opinion and advice on all matters relating to defence". The Defence Council "shall come directly under" the Ruler. (*Articles* 23, 24).

He may issue decrees, with the force of laws, "in exceptional circumstances which require the adoption of urgent measures without delay" provided they "do not conflict with the essential guiding principles of State policy". (*Article* 25).

The Deputy Ruler

The Deputy Ruler is Prime Minister and "shall assist the Ruler and exercise his powers during absence for any reason whatsoever". His main

ministerial responsibility is to formulate, with the assistance of the Council of Ministers and for submission to the Ruler for ratification, "a comprehensive programme that will ensure the economic, social, cultural and administrative advancement of the State". In addition he will "exercise final control over the conduct of the financial and administrative affairs of the Government, as well as supreme power of supervision to ensure the implementation of the laws and decrees enacted by the Ruler." He is responsible to the Ruler for the "implementation of the general policy of the State and for the manner in which he discharges the duties of his post and exercises his powers". (*Articles* 21, 26, 27).

A "complete permanent" Constitution is to be formulated to supersede the provisional Constitution and come into effect "at the termination of the transitional period". (*Article* 28).

The Council of Ministers

A Council of Ministers will assist the Ruler "in the discharge of his duties and the exercise of his powers". The Ruler will appoint and relieve ministers "on the basis of the recommendation" of the Prime Minister. Ministers must refrain from practising any profession or engaging in any commercial business while in office. Their number will be determined by law. (*Articles* 29, 30, 31, 32, 41).

The first Council of Ministers will have 10 members and it will be "jointly responsible politically" to the Ruler. Ministers will be individually responsible to the Prime Minister. (*Articles* 33, 38).

The Prime Minister will preside over the meetings of the Council of Ministers and "direct the activities of the ministers and supervise coordination of work". He will submit its findings to the Ruler and sign in its name. Discussion will be *in camera*. No decision will be adopted unless a majority of members is present and "unless the majority of the votes are in its favour". The opinion of the majority shall be binding on the minority; the Prime Minister will have a casting vote. (*Articles* 36, 38).

The Council of Ministers' powers include proposal to draft laws and decrees for submission to the Ruler for ratification and promulgation; submission of draft laws to the Advisory Council for discussion and opinion; issuance of regulations and orders for the implementation of laws; supervision of the implementation of laws, decrees, regulations, orders and court judgements; organization of governmental organs and departments; supervision of the "external interests of the State", and conduct of its "international relations and external affairs in general"; formulation of the "general principles that will ensure the maintenance of internal security"; administration of financial affairs and preparation of a draft general budget; "supreme supervision" over the personal conduct of civil servants and progress of work; and submission to the Ruler of a detailed report on major work at the beginning of each financial year with recommendations regarding the "best means of ensuring the realisation of the comprehensive advance of the State". (*Article* 37).

The Advisory Council

An Advisory Council is to be established to assist the Ruler and Council of Ministers – "through the expression of its opinions" – in the discharge of their respective duties. These opinions will be expressed "in the form of recommendations". (*Article* 43).

International – *I.C.S.I.D.*

The International Centre for Settlement of Investment Disputes was created in 1965 by a Convention formulated by the executive directors of the World Bank under whose auspices the Centre functions with Mr. Robert S. McNamara as Chairman of its Administrative Council.

"During the past year the membership of the International Centre for Settlement of Investment Disputes has continued to grow, and information received about the increasing number of investment contracts that provide for arbitration pursuant to the Convention on the Settlement of Investment Disputes between States and Nationals of Other States indicates that certain Contracting States as well as a number of international investors now routinely include in such instruments provision for the submission of disputes to the Centre.

"In order to assist Contracting States and the international investment community, the Centre has embarked on a project for the collection, classification and dissemination of national legislation and agreements relating to foreign investments.

"*Signatures and Ratifications*

For some time, the Convention has been the international arbitration treaty that has attracted the largest number of parties. During the year, three additional States signed the Convention and seven ratified it. By June 30, 1970 the number of signatories thus reached 64, of which 57 had ratified.

"The Secretariat is in touch with a number of States concerning their participation in the Centre and expects that several will take steps to become parties to the Convention."

"*Information Activities*

The Secretariat has continued to distribute information about the Convention and the Centre to potential parties (both public and private) to proceedings, largely in response to an increasing number of specific inquiries.

"In response to invitations received from a number of publications, the Secretariat is preparing several descriptive and analytical accounts designed to increase public familiarity with the facilities of the Centre."

"*Model Clauses*

In addition to the set of model clauses designed to assist the parties to bilateral investment contracts to include therein properly formulated provisions for the submission of disputes to the Centre, the Secretariat last year issued a set of model clauses that might be inserted into bilateral treaties designed to stimulate investments by the nationals of one party within the territory of the other. These clauses are designed to assist States

in negotiating such treaties or in supplementing existing instruments that merely contain provisions for the settlement of State-to-State disputes."

"*Pilot Project on Investment Laws and Treaties*

The Centre embarked in the past fiscal year on a pilot project for the collection, classification and dissemination of national legislation and international agreements relating to foreign investments, with the object of assisting States in making useful comparisons among investment promotion instruments in various parts of the world and to help familiarize potential investors with legal conditions in various developing countries."

"While no disputes have as yet been submitted to the Centre, provision is made in an increasing number of legal instruments for the submission to the Centre of legal disputes concerning investments, should they arise at some future time. The largest number of these are investment contracts, concluded between the governments of some fifteen developing States and numerous foreign private investors from half-a-dozen capital exporting countries. In addition, several States have inserted provisions referring to the Convention in their domestic investment codes, and some have concluded or were negotiating bilateral investment treaties containing similar provisions."

Source: *I.C.S.I.D.: Annual Report*

Fiji – *Administrative Training*

At the request of the Fiji Government a course for 20 senior administrators has been organized by the Univesity of the South Pacific at the Laucala campus outside Suva. It is a special course designed to meet a special situation.

In March, 1970 discussions between University and Government officials, together with overseas advisers including Dr. Richardson, Principal of the Canberra College of Advanced Education, led to the establishment of a ten-week course scheduled to run from 31st August to 6th November, 1970. An initial programme was prepared by Mr. N. C. Angus of the New Zealand State Services Commission and the University responded in close co-operation with the Chief Minister's Office, the Chief Secretary's Office and the Department of Localisation and Training.

The Course Director was to have been Mr. Nicolson of Queensland University, who was prevented from taking up his appointment for health reasons. Mr. A. R. Hoyle, Senior Lecturer in Administration at the Canberra College of Advanced Education, was made available by the College Council late in July at very short notice, to direct the course.

Mr. D. M. Adcock of the New Zealand Public Service was appointed Assistant Director in March, 1970, to prepare the detailed programme, arrange conversion of a building on the campus, assemble an initial selection in public administration reading, and other administrative duties.

Mr. A. L. Parke was appointed as Government Liaison Officer to the Course in March, 1970, to work closely with Mr. Adcock in establishing

early contact with course participants and potential contributors, and to secure the utmost relevance to the Fiji scene.

Before the course opened, Mr. A. Jarman, of Queensland University, Department of Government, joined the course Directorate and Mr. R. S. Clark, Lecturer in Constitutional Law at the Victoria University of Wellington also joined to speak on the law subjects of the first week.

The course was formally opened by the Chief Minister, Ratu Sir Kamisese Mara, K.B.E., who was introduced by the Vice-Chancellor of the University, Dr. Aikman.

New Zealand – *Local Body Finance*

If Local Government is to continue to bear the responsibility for providing the increasing range of costly local services that people expect, some source of supplementary revenue spread over a wider section of the community will soon become necessary.

This statement comes from the Committee on Local Authority Finance, set up by the Government in 1968, under the umbrella of the Department of Internal Affairs. The comment is published in the department's latest annual report, tabled recently in Parliament.

It says: "While it seems to be generally accepted that rates must continue to form the basis of local authority revenue for the foreseeable future, the need for some supplementary form of revenue is rapidly becoming more pressing. There is a natural tendency to take for granted not only minor services provided by local authorities such as street cleaning, but also many of the major services such as water and sewerage without appreciating the high costs of providing them.

"In the main, these costs fall on part of the community only, the ratepayers, but there is a limit to what they can reasonably be expected to pay. This limit is near in many districts," warns the report.

These comments are not new. Warnings such as this have come from many quarters associated with local government in recent years; but this is the first indication of this kind contained in a government departmental report. It could be a prelude to a change in government thinking on the ticklish question of local body finance.

At least the Government has acknowledged the problems of raising loan finance by the implementation in the Budget of new limits for finance company lending in public securities. There is little doubt that this step will ease the severe problems faced by many authorities in filling their loan commitments; but it does nothing to solve the revenue problems of many of the fast-expanding authorities.

Source: New Zealand Local Government, August 1970.

Book Reviews

Basic Democracies Works Programme and Rural Development in East Pakistan, by REHMAN SOBHAN; *Oxford University Press;* Glossary, bibliography, appendices; index; pp. 271; 45s. (hard-back), 26s. (paper-back).

East Pakistan is one of the poorest countries in the world. Many of the classic symptoms of underdevelopment appear there in acutest form. Four-fifths of the rapidly expanding population, now estimated at over seventy million, depend for survival upon cultivating a land smaller in extent than the combined area of England and Wales. Agriculture is primitive and yields per acre poor. Per capita incomes are among the lowest in the world. Nutrition levels are often hardly adequate for existence. Chronic problems of unemployment and underemployment are exacerbated by the heavy monsoon floods which annually destroy much of the low lying crops. The accelerating economic decline during the war and post-war decades led to loss of public confidence, a mistrust in the institutions of government, and growing frustration among a rural populace forced ever more deeply into the hands of the moneylender.

It was against this background that in 1962 the Rural Works Programme came into being. Its objectives, tested in the laboratory of the Kotwali Thana in 1961–62 by the Comilla Academy for Rural Development under the inspired guidance of Akhter Hameed Khan, were to use counterpart funds generated by the sale of surplus US foodstuffs (under the famous Kennedy Public Law 480 programme) to finance essential rural public works in the fields of drainage, flood control and transportation. The programme would be implemented by the District and Union Councils (at a later stage Thana Councils also were given an executive role). Both were established institutions of local government but had been reformed, renamed, and reinvigorated under the new system of local authorities, the "Basic Democracies" introduced by Ayub Khan in 1959.

The detailed and very objective report of the Kotwali Project had demonstrated convincingly that a Works Programme providing substantial employment opportunities in the off-season months could be run through the Thana and Union Councils themselves. Local people had quickly mastered the skills of measuring earthworks, of aligning roads and canals, and were able to mobilise and supervise labourers better and more cheaply than contractors. In its early stages the new province-wide programme appeared to fulfil the promise of the pilot programme. At the end of its first year the government was able to claim through the District Council programme the improvement and repair of eight thousand four hundred miles of road, the construction of forty-eight miles of new road, five hundred and twenty-seven bridges and culverts, the excavation of forty-nine miles of canals and the improvement of two hundred and forty-eight miles of embankment. Union Councils, whose share of the ten crore rupee investment was slightly

less than a third, were responsible it seemed, for twelve thousand four hundred and seventy-eight miles of road and for excavating or clearing eight hundred and fifty-three miles of canals. In the process, since roads in East Pakistan must be constructed on embankments ten or twelve feet above the land level, over half a billion cubic feet of earth were moved and two million man months of work provided. The Union and Thana Councils demonstrated ability to manage projects and to make better use of funds than District Councils by eliminating the contractors' profit. On the strength of the overall provincial performance the allocation for Rural Works in 1963–64 was doubled to twenty crore. On the strength of their particular performance the share of the Union and Thana Councils was increased to three quarters.

The programme quickly received international recognition. Scholars of development impressed by the apparent enthusiasm of village people as much as by the physical achievement, hailed it as one of the most significant examples of rural mobilisation in Asia. The government included the Rural Works Programme as an integral part of the Third Five-Year Plan with an allocation of two thousand five hundred million rupees.

The purpose of Sobhan's significant analysis is to strip away the euphoria which he claims has grown up around the Works Programme and to draw public attention to hitherto officially unremarked weaknesses in the planning and execution of the Works Programme and to certain pernicious economic and political trends the Programme has generated. The book is the result of two years of field research in 1963 and 1964 – extensive "samples" were taken in thirty-eight of the four hundred and eleven Thanas in the province – by a group of field workers from Dacca University.

The burden of Sobhan's study is that not only has its contribution to the rural prosperity been grossly, sometimes wantonly, exaggerated, but that the Rural Works Programme has provided a disservice by upsetting the socio-economic equilibrium of the rural community. It has increased disparities of rural income, enlarged the number of landless labourers and worsened still further their condition. In the process it has turned local authorities into a medium of political exploitation and undermined the whole Basic Democracy system. Sobhan bases his argument on Akhter Hameed Khan's threefold division of rural society into "surplus" farmers i.e. those with farms of seven and a half acres or more (5-10 per cent of the farming population), "middle" or subsistence farmers with one to seven and a half acres (60-65 per cent) and landless or near landless farmers who constitute about 25 per cent of the farming population. He establishes (convincingly) that Basic Democrats are very largely composed of the first group and goes on to show how, through the Works Programme, they were enabled to abuse their position and turn political power to personal economic gain. The Works Programme made Basic Democrats, he says, "into direct dispensers of financial patronage. They selected the people who got work on the project and who served on the Project Committees. Thus by a careful control of the pie and by a judicious selection of those who would get their finger in the pie, they vastly enhanced their power in the village. Now not only were they moneylenders and land leasers of the village but also the dispensers of jobs and fringe benefits... now his (the landless labourer's) landlord and creditor also became the arbiter of

whether he would work and hence eat in the winter months. Thus the strangle-hold was complete and the labourer became the virtual serf of the 'surplus' farmer".

The worst, however, is not yet! Sobhan shows how much of the maladministration of the Works Programme arose from over-rapid expansion from the pilot programme in Kotwali Thana to the four hundred and eleven Thanas of the Province. But this, he says, was less an error of judgment than a deliberate political move by the government of the day. By implication at least he suggests that the Ayub regime was less concerned with eradicating abuses than with exploiting the political capital to be made from the Works Programme. The appropriations in 1962 and 1963 for the Works Programme must therefore be ascribed directly to the forthcoming elections of 1964 and the need to win the votes of the Basic Democrats as the electorate for the President and the National and Provincial Assemblies. Sobhan writes "by putting the execution of the programme in the hands of the Basic Democrat and giving him hard cash to disperse directly they (the Government) increased the Basic Democrat's scope for power and wealth beyond his wildest dreams. The Basic Democrats were thus given a vested interest in the programme, the government and the constitution, which all the opposition's exhortations about freedom and democracy could not shake. We can now understand why the Works Programme was put into motion on a province-wide scale with such haste, when the Comilla Pilot Scheme had emphasised the need for phasing the programme and training people thoroughly in the execution of the programme. The motives of the regime were more than merely an urgency to build the rural infrastructure. They wanted to forge bonds with the Basic Democrats before any by-election could be held and in anticipation of the stern test ahead, the Presidential and Assembly elections. The wisdom of their haste has no doubt been reaffirmed many times over".

To form balanced judgments about the Works Programme is difficult in the paucity of information emanating from East Pakistan. The impression left by Sobhan however is that if his field research was extensive enough to justify some of his strictures upon the government then the Programme is still far too limited to warrant his more extreme conclusions. Three examples will illustrate the point.

The first is the issue of public responses to the Works Programme. Sobhan is on sure ground in his criticism of official statistics even if he overstates his findings ("in order to justify this flow of funds, without too many questions being asked, it has become necessary to produce these wildly inflated results in order to prove that the money has been instrumental in producing some sort of rural upsurge"). His analysis of specific irreconcilable discrepancies in published government claims provides justification for considerable scepticism about official statements of achievement. It is difficult, on the other hand, to attach much significance to the findings of his research team on rural attitudes towards the efficiency and integrity of the Basic Democrats who controlled the execution of projects, based as they are on sample interviews with individual members of the rural public, and contrasting strongly as they do with the reports of government evaluation teams and foreign observers. "Only 21.4 per cent of the interviewees thought the Basic Democrats were hard working while 38.6 per cent thought them idle. 63.6 per cent

thought them to be corrupt in their dealings . . ." etc. Akhter Hameed Khan, whose wisdom, experience and integrity Sobhan does not question, himself an outspoken (and perhaps the best informed) critic of malpractice in the Works Programme, has recorded on more than one occasion his concern at the extent to which traditional suspicion in rural Pakistan (coupled perhaps with the not uncommon pleasurable addiction to rural gossip) can feed rumours of corruption. One such account (Impressions of a Tour 1964) aptly illustrates the point. The narrative is joined at the point where Akhter Hameed and a group of project officers have walked along a mile of newly constructed Works Programme road and spoken with the labourers about their wages.

"I came away from the labourers on to the main road. A well-dressed, handsome young man, accosted me.

'All the money is being stolen,' he said firmly.

'This is interesting,' I said, and opened my notebook, 'may I know your name and profession?'

'My name is Fakhruddin Ahmad. I live in the next village, Auailer Tari. I am a clerk of the Settlement Department. I work in Bogra, and I have come home on leave.'

'Now tell me how the money is being stolen?'

'I have learnt that the labourers are paid ten rupees, but I know that the Government rate is fifteen rupees. The union council members are pocketing five rupees out of fifteen.'

'How do you know that the Government rate is fifteen rupees?'

'I have heard from many people.'

'Do you know what is the estimate for this project?'

'There is no estimate. The union council members are stealing most of the money. They are thieves.'

'Are all union council members thieves?'

'Of course, they are all thieves, otherwise why should they take the trouble of contesting elections? They are paid no salary. They must steal.'

'Are Government officers also thieves?'

'No, Government officers get salaries. They need not steal.'

I gazed at him and marvelled at the ugly mind behind that handsome face.

'Dear boy,' I said, 'Go and find out from the project committee how the rate is fixed, how the payment is made, what is the estimate, how much work has been done. Don't be a bloody rumour monger. Let me tell you that there is no Government rate. I have just heard that the project committee announced by beat of drum the rate wages.'

A passerby named Mozeher Ali stopped. 'I can tell you,' he said, 'how the money is being stolen. Day before yesterday, the S.D.O. stopped his jeep there, and I heard him say that this road should be twenty feet wide at the top. Is it twenty feet wide? That is how the money is being stolen.'

Another wayfarer, Abdul Karim, joined in approval. 'I heard that they got five thousand rupees, and spent only two thousand, and ate up the rest.'

It was like the cawing of crows."

Perhaps Sobhan's researchers were unfortunate in selecting too many crows for their interviews!

The second issue is that of Sobhan's comments on the abuses of power by the Union Council chairmen on which he places great emphasis. Yet relatively little attention is given to investigating the effectiveness of measures introduced by the government in part at least to prevent such abuses. These included the widespread use of publicity (the public announcement of labour rates, the setting-up of notice boards on each of the many thousands of projects which gave details of the project, and the publication of Union and Thana programmes). Second was the new working relationship the Works Programme engendered between village project leaders (as opposed to the Union Council Chairman) and the Circle Officer and other officials. Third and most important of all was the safeguard against local abuse of the Works Programme provided by the system of long-term planning in which Union and Thana Councils over all the Province produced five-year plans of development in the spheres of transportation and irrigation for all the Union Councils in their areas. That abuses of political power were made by Basic Democrats is certain. That such abuses were made on the scale suggested by Sobhan cannot be supported by the evidence he provides.

The third example is Sobhan's view of the government's political motivation behind the Works Programme where his investigations stop short of examining some of the relevant key planning considerations of the day. It is true that the government rejected the more cautious approach to expansion of rural works recommended by the Comilla pioneers though it is more accurate to say that the authors of the programme were persuaded rather than "over-ruled" by the government. Given, however, the desperate plight of East Pakistan at the time and the urgency of relieving the burden of rural under-employment; given the exciting successes of the Pilot Project with its promise of providing employment opportunities at a capital cost of six hundred rupees per head as against the vastly higher average of other forms of investment (estimated at five thousand two hundred and fifty rupees for the Second Plan period); given the firm policy of the government of the day of redressing the balance of development investment between the provinces to ensure a larger share of the Third Plan for the poorer East Wing; and given the relative absence (compared with the West) of favourable investment opportunities in the private sector, there may be no reason to doubt the sincerity of the government in wishing to develop the Works Programme potential as fast as possible. A partial loss in effectiveness, even a modest increase in wastage through corruption, would seem a price worth paying for the possible immediate and widespread gains a Works Programme might afford. It would be naive to exclude the political desirability of increasing public confidence in the government from the factors considered but it may seem hardly necessary to go as far as Sobhan.

Whatever its failings Sobhan's study serves an important purpose. Most community development programmes have to be protected from their friends. Possibly because their supporters and exponents are so frequently on the defensive against the political opponents of the government and the conflicting vested interests within the public service, the published evaluations of

many national community development programmes notably those of India and Ghana and Village AID in Pakistan itself can all in varying degree, be shown to have exaggerated physical achievement and minimised difficulties. More serious perhaps is the not uncommon tendency to fall victim to the new and largely self-created bureaucracy of community development, to lose the initial freshness of approach, and to rely over-much on repeating "the mixture as before". The safeguard against such dangers must lie in sound, critical, independent and continuous evaluation. The government's own evaluation system meets only part of these requirements. In practice it is conscientious and useful in detecting administrative weaknesses and uncovering occasional misuses of funds. But it is not geared to appraising the wider implications of the Rural Works Programme and is unlikely to lead to significant changes of policy. Sobhan's study is the first major appreciation of the Programme by an agency without a direct interest in its success. In consequence much of it is both salutary and new. It sheds fresh light on the dangers to be guarded against in allocating a large proportion of public sector expenditure to community development activity. In particular it draws attention to the problem, in a continuing programme executed through rural local authorities, of ensuring that local taxation makes its proper contribution to development. Sobhan has contributed to knowledge of the methodology of evaluating the Works Programme. Notably, he has provided substantial reasons for re-examining Akhter Hameed Khan's attractive theory of a feasible and complementary relationship between rural local government and the co-operative movement.

Yet it is a pity that the first major published work on the Works Programme in East Pakistan should say so little about some of its incidental achievements; the quite remarkable ability and imagination of its organisation, the laudable, and largely successful attempt, necessary in a programme of such magnitude to supplement government audit of local authorities by accountability to the local electorate; the successful launching of Thana Development Centres with their important implications for the future of rural organisation; the creation of a working partnership between Central Government and hundreds of thousands of small "Project Committees" up and down the province, and with it the fostering, to a quite novel degree, of effective communication between bureaucrats and village leaders. This has significance not only for other programmes of rural economic development such as the Thana Irrigation Programme, but for those of wider consequence including, most notably, Family Planning.

A. K. PICKERING.

Political and Administrative Development, edited by RALPH BRAIBANTI *Duke University Press,* Durham, North Carolina, 1969; $15.00.

This volume, of 668 pages, and one in a series published by the Duke University Commonwealth-Studies Centre, is an edited version of an international conference discussion held in Bellagio in mid-1967. The conference was convened "to explore the theoretical issues implicit in transnational efforts to improve the administrative capacity of developing political systems". A defensible purpose, an issue of universal importance, and a

star-studded cast of speakers to lend authority to the conference deliberations. Why, at the end, is the reader left with a sense of disappointment and often confusion?

An invigorating feature of North American writings in political science and public administration is the effort made to achieve precision in the formulation of ideas and language that can best convey the fresh insights gained of political and administrative behaviour. But precision is not always clarity. Three characteristics of this present volume tend to obscure rather than illuminate the nature of the issues explored by the conference group. There is first a level of theorising that not only seems remote from the actualities of developing political systems (and this in itself is not necessarily a deficiency), but also appears often to be irrelevant to them. One can understand, if not always accept, the impatience of the practitioner with the abstractions sought by political theorists. Some of the conference papers almost lend themselves to parody in their attempts to hypothecate and then substantiate a set of propositions about political and administrative development. Stimulating and provocative as it all is, the writing frequently veers off to a prolongation of linguistic niceties that do not add to the reader's understanding of the subjects discussed. Here, a consideration of the other two limiting characteristics of the book – the language and the repetitiveness – is particularly relevant.

The language of much of the transatlantic literature on politics and public administration will soon require of us some kind of professional Esperanto if we are to be sure of effective communication with colleagues in the same academic discipline. This is not to deride the search for more exact terminology in this and other works of its kind. In such writings, the reach towards wider theoretical dimensions and the search for appropriate language to give them clear expression have produced in the last two or three decades a challenging array of concepts and images for the study of politics and administration. The problem remains that in many other parts of the world people do not think, talk or write like this. Somewhere within this semantic divergence we must locate the effective point for mutual understanding.

The third limiting characteristic of this volume is excessive repetitiveness. In his final summary of the conference deliberations, Ralph Braibanti makes reference to the "uneconomic variations in terminology and constructs" that pervade the material. This is true. Some of the speakers almost beat the subject to death in employing every conceivable permutation of words and allusions to achieve exactness of thought and expression. Much of the repetition does not add to an understanding of the subject and makes for wearisome reading over nearly 700 pages.

In this review I have made no direct reference to the nature of the conference subjects. After spending some weeks in the reading of this volume (and considerable re-reading of passages I did not properly understand), I am at a loss to know how to present a critical comment on such complex material within the space of a review article. All the conference subjects are important, some of urgent relevance to current political and administrative development, particularly Braibanti's paper on "External Inducement of Political-Administrative Development: An Institutional Strategy", Kariel's statement of

"Goals for Administrative Reform in Developing States: An Open-Ended Design", Riggs' long treatment of "The Structures of Government and Administrative Reform", and Montgomery's "Sources of Bureaucratic Reform: A Typology of Purpose and Politics". This is a highly selective choice and one needs the whole perspective of the book to appreciate the weight of any of the articles. The book should be read to some extent backwards. Braibanti's Conspectus provides an effective context for exploring the meanings given by the conference speakers to a rich variety of political and administrative concepts.

This volume will be read largely by people "in the trade" and of course by students. Despite the reservations expressed about it above, this is a work justifying the time and energy required to appreciate its implications for our further study of political and administrative development. In an ideal world, we would profit by having alongside us, as we read, both an interpreter and a précis writer.

One final note, of comparison. In 1968 The American Academy of Political and Social Science published in its Monograph Series the results of a conference in Philadelphia on the subject "Theory and Practice of Public Administration: Scope, Objectives, and Methods". This conference report avoids excesses of verbiage and repetition, and certainly never strays far from the realities of polity and administrative engineering. It is lucid, lively, economical in its treatment of ideas and events and might well serve as an intermediate refreshment at about page 500 of "Political and Administrative Development."

A. S. LIVINGSTONE

Promoting Commonwealth Development, by RICHARD BAILEY *Hutchinson,* 1970; Appendix, index; pp. 233; 60s.

"Without all the pomp and circumstance of imperial days Britain still has a role to play in relation to the developing countries . . . She is best equipped to do this in relation to those of the Commonwealth". Here, at page 46, is the text for Mr. Bailey's lucid, eminently readable and persuasive sermon on the ethic and manner of 'giving'. Accepting the breadth of the subject and the misunderstandings and suspicions which both Aid and the Commonwealth have engendered in a predominently myopic British public, the author has achieved a tour de force in containing his book within so short a compass – in making it above all as attractive to the general as to the specialist reader. The latter will miss nothing by skipping a couple of chapters which deal factually with Commonwealth constitutional growth and with the scope of national and international aid agencies. He will also be likely to excuse, in the interests of the neophyte, a repetitiveness of basic argument which in other circumstances might well have given rise to irritation.

The first and obvious advantage of this publication is its timeliness. A change of government in Britain has already placed in doubt the future of this country's foremost aid agency, the Ministry of Overseas Development.*

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* *This review was written before the Ministry of Overseas Development was merged with the Foreign and Commonwealth Office as the Overseas Development Administration.* (Ed.)

The current clash between Marketeers and Little Englanders increases the already marked unpopularity of aid as an inescapable plank of policy – moral or self-interested. Above all, the Commonwealth . . . the attitude towards or negation of it in press and parliament needs no further underlining.

Four points above all Mr. Bailey sets out to prove. First, aid is not just arithmetic. Second, the force of history dictates that the great mass of British aid and technical assistance flows and will continue to flow towards the developing countries of the Commonwealth. Third, in the aftermath of the Development Decade, management techniques and private investment may well prove more important then vast State injections of capital aid measured by some arbitrary percentage of G.N.P. Fourth, of what goes out from the taxpayer's pocket by way of aid, much returns to the State and him by way of tied exports and invisibles – a fact continuously and conveniently overlooked by the Little Englander.

The second advantage of this book is that Mr. Bailey has had the time sense to analyse and to draw many acceptable conclusions from the 'Rich North's' three decades' worth of experience – often fumbling, constantly shifting, frequently hoist on the petard of short-sighted enthusiasm, but generally based on good intentions – of aiding the "Poor South". As he shows, expensive training overseas is not enough. The brain drain is worse for the developing than for the developed world. Improved agricultural methods rather than heavily cushioned secondary industries are often the more practical road to the economic take-off point. But tractors will do more harm than good unless the rural unemployment they create can be diverted into new productive channels.

Admittedly, most aid-giving agencies have been learning these lessons the hard and expensive way during the past five years. But there are many one percenters still among us to whom monetary quantity means more than grass-roots quality. It would be tempting to chain them to their desks without food or drink until they have digested Mr. Bailey's findings.

If much is admittedly amiss, what prescriptions does the author offer? Certainly the O.D.M. should stay, not just because it has had time to shake down and to profit from past mistakes but, above all, because it is both common sense and good politics to keep this country's main aid agency at arm's length from diplomats, financial controllers and export promoters alike. Only an independent Ministry can look dispassionately at aid and technical assistance problems in the round. To absorb the O.D.M. into the Foreign and Commonwealth Office would in time lead to a marked and unwise diversion of the bulk of this country's bilateral aid effort from the English speaking to the foreign world. And if it were folly to treat British aid à la Duncan, how much more so to suffocate it, as some suggest, by pushing it into the Treasury's well muscled arms?

On multilateral aid-support to the developing world through the Commonwealth Secretariat or through that admirable, hardheaded though underpublicised organ, the Commonwealth Development Corporation – Mr. Bailey has a lot to say. Some of his conclusions are palatable, some not. But there can be no gainsaying the fact that this is a timely book – that its

special pleading should help to clear encumbered minds and that the lesson it leaves with us is inescapable – insofar as British aid continues, policy and self-interest dictate that the bulk of it be directed towards the Commonwealth.

J. C.

State Directorates of Municipal Administration, by MOHIT BHATTACHARYA, *New Delhi, Indian Institute of Public Administration,* 1969; pp. 113, $1.50.

Systematic research on the emerging patterns of urban administration in India is still in its infancy. The present study, sponsored by the Indian Institute of Public Administration, fulfils a primary need in stimulating further research.

The first four chapters of the book cover the least controversial ground in presenting descriptive material on the background of the present structure of municipal government in Andhra Pradesh, Gujarat, Kerala, Maharastra, Punjab and Rajasthan, the States with Directorates of Municipal Administration. Two significant inferences emerge from the fifth chapter; one is that the degree of control exercised by the Directorates over the municipal bodies differs from State to State though the formal role of all the Directorates is that of exercising control. Secondly, there appears to be no uniformity as to the division of jurisdiction between the Directorates and the Secretariat. The contents of the sixth and seventh chapters expose the prevailing confusion in regard to the specific role of the Directorates of Municipal Administration. Again, the attempt to separate the roles of the Secretariat and the Directorate is based on an obsolete administrative theory that policy and execution can be separated. Even the process of separation was not carried to fruition; the Directorates were integrated with the Secretariat in a few States. The role of the Directorates is imprecise; they are not well-equipped to assist and advise the municipalities. Their key function is concerned with routine supervision over muncipal bodies besides providing a liaison between the latter and the technical departments of the State Government.

In many States, the Directorate shares the function of supervision with the District Collector. The monograph brings out interesting evidence on the strange duality persistent in Indian field administration; a mixture of the old and new functionaries operates concurrently or with overlapping jurisdictions. One extreme example of confusion in the hierarchical arrangements is in Rajasthan where the Director of Municipalities, an officer belonging to a lower service cadre, is empowered to revise the orders of the Collector who usually belongs to a higher cadre. In the eighth chapter the nature and extent of guidance rendered by the respective Directorates to the urban local bodies is described. As one would expect, there are variations from State to State. The apparent dichotomy between the assumed philosophy of municipal self-government and the prevailing practices of State control is the major theme of the last chapter.

The major shortcomings of this book remain to be pointed out. The author appears to be stretching to come up with some theoretical analysis while

presenting the descriptive data. But he leaves the reader disappointed. While presenting information on the practice of dual control over municipal bodies and on the wide range of patterns of allocation of functions between the Secretariat and the Directorate, the author should have analysed the serious structural imbalances in State administrative systems. Any perceptive observer could see the absence of a rational basis behind the system of distribution of functions among the various agencies. Mr. Bhattacharya plays himself into the trap characteristic of many a writer on local government in India by positing some simplistic notions. Not every one would agree with his point of view expressed in chapter seven that bureaucratic controls are incompatible with the concept of ministerial responsibility under a parliamentary system.

Again, the author's obsession with the concept of municipal self-government based on mere legal safeguards and his abhorrence for bureaucratic controls does not allow him to consider certain relevant political variables. The issue of fostering municipal autonomy is as much a function of the political process as of the formal legal framework. Instances of Ministers and other political leaders giving oral directives to the authorities of statutorily independent institutions (like Public Corporations and Universities) are galore in India. The question of autonomy of statutory and quasi-government institutions cannot, therefore, be approached either in terms of legal safeguards or bureaucratic controls. Illustrations from countries like the U.K. and U.S.A. with relatively diffused political structures, would land us in misplaced comparisons.

After a careful and systematic presentation of facts in some chapters the author makes a jump into some loaded statements. Look at the following sentence: "Many a time, however, the overbearing attitude and lack of a sense of dedication among the Directorate officials are understood to have prevented an 'entente cordiale' "; these have equal, if not less relevance, to the behaviour patterns of functionaries at the municipal level too. From a methodological standpoint, the researcher is primarily concerned with the observance of the patterns of interaction between functionaries serving at two hierarchical levels. It does not call for wholesale condemnation of functionaries at any particular level. Given these limitations, the usefulness of the monograph stems from the information assembled.

C. V. RAGHAVULU

Colonial Sequence, 1949-1969, by MARGERY PERHAM; *Methuen*, 1970; pp. xxxvi + 363, map, index; £3.75.

This is the second volume of the author's articles and letters on British African Affairs, the first volume having covered the years 1930–1949. Most of the letters were to *The Times*.

Dame Margery Perham is well known to all who have been concerned with government and administration in Africa as one who has devoted her life to the study of Africa, especially of the former British African dependencies. She has studied their evolution to independence both during numerous visits and travels and as an academic at Oxford, where she was Reader in Colonial history for many years and first Fellow of Nuffield College. She also

took part in training budding Colonial Officials and African students mainly in administration, and was a member of many government committees and advisory panels on different aspects of education and welfare overseas. She was first president of The African Studies Association of the United Kingdom. In her early days she was a close friend of that great pioneer African administrator, Lord Lugard, whose brilliant biography she wrote; of Sir Douglas Newbold of the Sudan and of Dr. Oldham, whom she charmingly describes as "the quiet, subtle, tireless, ecclesiastical statesman." Certainly during the years covered by this volume she had become the leading liberal authority on the political and educational development of British Africa.

It is against this background that the mine of authoritative ideas which are to be found in this collection of her writings must be considered and weighed. There were, during the explosive period covered, some commentators whose contributions seemed to be founded on little more substantial than a desire to embarrass those who had to solve the problems in the field and to denigrate the British administrations at home and overseas. Though Margery Perham was always forthright in her comments she was not one of these and her views were always listened to by those in authority with great respect, if not always with agreement.

All the letters and articles are stamped with the author's love of Africa and its peoples and with knowledge and deep concern that policy decisions should be based on full and sympathetic appreciation of the implications of the rapid advance of British dependencies in Africa, with all its difficulties, tragedies and disasters as well as its successes. Some readers will no doubt feel that she tends to take account more of the interests of the African intelligentsia rather than those of the millions of peasants in the villages on the one hand and of the non-Africans who have done much to develop Africa in the past on the other, but these writings show that she was indeed aware of the needs and interests of all sections of the community and of the rough time they have had during the period covered. She may have had doubts whether the very rapid advance to independence was always in the best interests of the majority but judged that it was inevitable in the circumstances, a view perhaps now more widely accepted than hitherto.

The paper on "The Many Faces of African Socialism" is of special interest and quotes President Kaunda's claim that (p.332) "The tribe was a mutual accepting and inclusive community and that these three characteristics could be carried over into the modern multi-tribal state. The extended family system constitutes a social security scheme – following the natural pattern of personal relationships rather than being the responsibility of an institution," and President Nyerere's stress of "the mutual respect, the equality, the communal property and the obligation of all to work, which governed tribal society" (p.332). But there are few facets of the rapid development of African independence which are not touched upon somewhere, and among others of special interest are the author's more recent impressions of Nigeria, Rhodesia and Kenya as well as her contemporary reactions to happenings in the Sudan and elsewhere. Certainly students and historians of the post-war period in Africa, among others, will find this Colonial

sequence of value and interest and will be glad that the collection has been published.

R. S. HUDSON

O.D.I. Review – 4, British Development Policies, Needs and Prospects, 1970 Ed. ANDRZEJ KRASSOWSKI; *Overseas Development Institute, London*; appendix, glossary, index; pp. 96; 20s.

"*Politics apart, agriculture and employment are likely to be the two focal points of concern in a large proportion of the developing countries in the* 1970s".

This conclusion drawn, and underlined here, in the fourth of O.D.I.'s annual reviews, will be echoed by an ever increasing number who see mass unemployment instead of famine as the spectre facing the Third World in the Seventies and Eighties. "As the spotlight moves towards the rural economy, there may also come some modification of the dominance of economists in the planning process"–and with it, perhaps the "dethronement of the G.N.P." as the main yardstick of economic development. If this orientation is boldly assumed by policy makers and planners, then the Second Development Decade may well evoke less disappointment and frustration than the First.

The O.D.I. Review, true to past form, is packd .with facts, figures and thoughts, and well argued advocacy of aid. Tables are modestly restricted to seven. A thoughtful chapter is devoted to The Role of Science and Technology in Development. "In many developing countries, lack of scientific and technological knowledge is not a limiting factor (to development). The main obstacles to application are economic and social, including deficiencies in education, communications, willingness to accept new ideas, administrative effectiveness, business enterprise, and political leadership . . . economic growth will require many changes in attitudes; as well as in social and political structures. Only within this broader context of development can science and technology make an effective contribution" – donors and recipients to note carefully!

The Review also looks at private foreign investment, at which some radical theorists who propound the economics of aid and seek to tell developing countries how to manage their affairs, find it intellectually convenient to look askance. O.D.I. takes a more sensible view: "development itself is full of risks and, in view of this, it would generally be a mistake to refuse, on the grounds of the uncertainty of its exact long-term impact, the immediate and valuable contribution which direct foreign investment can make to growth and income."

O.D.I. is a valuable, self-appointed watchdog of the British aid effort and in this role looks in an opening note at the likelihood of policy change resulting from the June general election. No major change is anticipated in the provision of development assistance to which both political parties are pledged – but O.D.I. welcomes the prospect of government stimulus to new initiatives from the private sector and a more forceful support for U.N.C.T.A.D. proposals.

P.H.J.

Other Books Received

Panchayati Raj and Bureaucracy, by U. R. GARKWAD.

Caste and Social Change, by N. PATNAIK;

National Institute of Community Development, Hyderabad; each volume 10 Rupees.

Readers of this Journal will be well aware from the many contributions about *Panchayati Raj*, how considerable have been the problems of making decentralised democracy function adequately both in urban and in rural areas; in particular the relationship between officials and elected representatives has been an exceedingly difficult one to achieve on a satisfactory basis.

Mr. Garkwad looks at this particular problem through the eyes of a sociologist who has made a detailed study of one *Zilla Parishad* in Maharashtra State. He reiterates the well known reasons for officials' contempt for and resentment of their elected masters and finds similar feelings displayed *mutatis mutandis*. He makes constructive proposals as to how political interference in local administration can best be minimized. The faults that lie on both sides are explained and few will disagree with Mr. Garkwad when he maintains that "once programmes are executed more efficiently by the officials, then the interference by the office-bearers at least at the execution level is likely to be less". The need for clearly framed rules and prescribed procedures, for clear demarcation of specific roles and functions is emphasised. *Panchayati Raj* has been going through a difficult experimental adolescence; the author believes the time has come for state governments to devolve more powers on local bodies, inferring that from greater responsibility might well emerge greater effort, co-operation and efficiency.

During the Nineteen Seventies it is essential that official-elected representatives squabbling be reduced. The citizen whom both are there to serve is the principal sufferer from such wrangling. He should make his voice heard louder, by those responsible for operating the Panchayati system and whose task it is to provide the citizen with service.

Dr. Patnaik studied three villages in the coastal region of Southern Orissa. He points out that the agricultural development programme has brought more benefit to the landowners and well-to-do than to the landless and the poor. He sees some progress towards the breakdown of class distinction, but stresses that progress can only be slow as long as educational advancement is retarded. He regrets the withdrawal of education extension agents from the Blocks – successful social change depends largely on the scope of educational facilities; in rural India they need much more enlightened expansion.

Pakistan – Industrialization and Trade Policies, by STEPHEN R. LEWIS JR.; *published for OECD, Paris, by Oxford University Press;* appendix, index; pp. 214; 55s. (hardback), 25s. (limp covers).

Stephen Lewis is mainly concerned with the industrial/manufacturing sector of the Pakistan economy. Overall, he sees reasonable progress in the Sixties following a disappointingly slow start in the previous decade. Government policies (exchange control, import licencing, varied incentives to industrialists) have stimulated industrial growth which was already influenced by the political act of partition. These policies "transferred large amounts of resources from the agricultural sector and from urban consumers to the new industrialists". "The key to significant growth rate of real GNP in both East and West Pakistan is the growth rate of the agricultural sector" – particularly if East Pakistan is to achieve any real economic growth. An inefficient manufacturing sector built up on resources found from the key but poor agricultural sector, must be a doubtful route to social and economic development – *pace* the eminent academic from Latin America who has asserted that the less developed countries can only achieve economic progress by "squeezing the peasant" /

India – Planning for Industrialization, by JAGDISH N. BHAGWATI and PADMA DESAI; *published for OECD, Paris, by Oxford University Press;* bibliography and index; pp. 536; 130s. (hardback), 50s. (limp covers).

The joint authors of the sister study of Indian industrialization conclude with an admirable short chapter entitled "lessons".

"You cannot have 'grow first' and 'efficiency' next. The two lessons go hand in hand. Indian experience highlights these lessons dramatically". Target-setting without cost-consideration amounted to the "cut-off imports-and-industrialize" strategy seen in some South American countries and elsewhere. "The nature and the results of Indian experience . . . ought to disabuse economists and policy-makers of the attractions of such simplistic solutions to development: there are no short cuts to sustained and efficient growth" – a quotation which should stimulate a wide readership for the preceding detailed study upon which these conclusions are based.

Politics and Administration in the local Councils in East Pakistan, by M. RASHIDUZZAMAN; *Oxford University Press*; appendices, index; pp. 224; 18s.

There are those who despair of the successful evolution of democratic local government in Asia. Others are less pessimistic. The author of this study sets out very clearly the Basic Democracy system in East Pakistan. This new experiment in local government has had to face the major disruption which followed the end of the Ayub Khan regime that had brought it into being. There is need, no doubt, for greater decentralization, for less official dominance of local bodies; there have no doubt been many failures: but, with the original support given from the centre, Basic Democracies have provided the means of achieving a very great deal of development; rural works in particular have proved successful. There is no place for complacency, and equally no need for pessimism.

The Constitution of India – its Philosophy and Basic Postulates, by P. B. GAJENDRAGADKAR; *Oxford University Press;* pp. 107; 34s.

This volume contains the Gandhi Memorial lectures delivered by the author at the University College, Nairobi. An admirable tribute to Mahatma Gandhi is followed by the story of how the Indian Constitution was made, an examination of the Fundamental Rights contained therein and the social justice it has achieved, the concept of the Unity of India and the power to amend the Constitution. The concluding lecture compares the philosophy of national life between India and Kenya.

Brazil, Industrialization and Trade Policies since 1940, by JOEL BERGSMAN; *Oxford University Press,* 1970; index; pp. 281; 55s. (hardback), 35s. (paperback).

Mexico, Industrialization and Trade Policies, by TIMOTHY KINO; *Oxford University Press,* 1970; index; pp. 160; 40s. (hardback), 35s. (paperback).

Both volumes have been published for OECD Paris. They provide the opportunity for a most interesting comparative study of two Latin American countries with contrasting stories of economic development.

First, *Brazil* with immense natural resources and great potential for development that never quite seems to materialise. Joel Bergsman tells the old joke "Brazil is the land of tomorrow and always will be". Could the performance have been better? What strategies should now be adopted? The author believes that industrialization is a desirable and necessary partner to the development of the agricultural and mining resources of Brazil, that manufacturers should be stimulated to meet the widest

possible range of domestic demand – the goal of efficiency must be sought where the limited foreign market offers the opportunity for industrial expansion. Lack of efficiency has inhibited industrial growth; now every effort needs to be made to increase incentives and to reduce costs.

Secondly, *Mexico*, where "the growth of manufacturing output has been the most important single contribution to the growth of total output"; where proximity to the United States has brought tourism and supplied markets; where, despite enviable sustained economic growth, more productive employment must be provided and "industrial growth must bear the brunt of this task"; where the prospects remain very good in contrast with Brazil. One wonders how far this is due to the Spartan belt-tightening with which earlier Mexican Governments met the economic challenge that followed the nationalization of oil production.

Political Administration in Mexico, by JULIO A. FEINANDEZ, *University of Colarado, Boulder Bureau of Governmental Research*; index, bibliography; pp. 80.

This monograph provides interesting insight to the administration of government business in Mexico. The author emphasises the dominant role of the political executive in a state where a free party system exists, but coherent opposition is lacking. He sees the strong executive as no liability in a less developed country, and, as Mexico has achieved a far more successful breakthrough to economic viability than any of her Latin American neighbours, maybe the administration of this flexible one party state provides a lesson well worth while study by others still in the economic doldrums.

The Peruvian Administrative System, by RUDOLF GOMEZ; *University of Colorado Boulder Bureau of Governmental Research and Service*; bibliography and index; pp. 78.

The author adopts the Fred Riggs' "Prismatic Society" approach in his examination of the Peruvian administration. He relates the system analysed with the Sala model. But he finds his purpose somewhat frustrated by the "important, indeed paramount, role in Peru's public administration" played by the military – not, he believes, through superior military efficiency, but through the large role the military have acquired throughout the political life of the country. A postscript is added following the 1968 military coup. "Clearly Government in Peru at any given time is what the military want it to be" – but military administration is scarcely public administration, in the normally understood sense, whether a Sala or any other "type" is under study.

The Politicalization of Administration in East Africa, by S. NYAGAH; *Kenya Institute of Administration*; pp. 30; K Sh. 6.50.

Written by Mr. Nyagah while he was head of the K.I.A. department of Local Government, this monograph contrasts the rapid changes effected in Tanzania – national language, complete courts integration, party/civil service unification, TANU-recruited army – with the more conservative progress followed by Kenya where, perhaps, greater emphasis has been given to ensuring economic stability. This very useful study puts into perspective the two national approaches to African socialism. Mr. Nyagah believes in flexibility and one can infer that he sees a better long term prospect by the avoidance in Kenya of rigid doctrinaire attitudes.

Case Studies in the Management of Economic Development, by CLAUDE C. WOLTZ; *Oxford University Press*, pp. 53; 13s.

The author presents nine varied case studies based on actual administrative problems that arose in suitably disguised Tanzanian offices: cattle theft and murders, squatters, bar hours, the teachers' pensions scheme, a (no doubt very typical) conflict over

virement for travel allowance payment, a fairly straightforward case of "insubordination," the problem of a tender, comprise the subject matter. This is excellent material for administrative training in Tanzania. Where the problem posed contains an element of political interference in an administrative function, no blue-print solution can exist; much will depend on the character of the personalities concerned and the administrator's own political acumen in deciding how best to deal with a particular individual.

Twentieth Century Africa, Ed. P. J. M. McEwan; *Oxford University Press*; maps, bibliography, index; pp. 515; 50s.

The third volume in this series of readings in African history provides a catholic selection of authors and subjects ranging over the African continent. The student will find this a useful and interesting reference book, particularly as in many cases the original source would be difficult to obtain. The student should however look carefully at the date of each contribution before deciding how far he can accept the conclusions drawn as currently relevant.

Qualitative Aspects of Educational Planning; Ed. C. E. Beeby; *U.N.E.S.C.O. International Institute for Educational Planning*; pp. 362; 21s.

This volume contains ten contributions which have emerged from an UNESCO symposium on educational planning in less developed countries. Besides the contributions, the editor has very usefully included some of the major discussion that took place and which include *inter alia* some lively interventions by Sir Arthur Lewis which would otherwise be lost to posterity. The Editor himself includes the statement of his own invented minister to "Ruatoria". But would the Minister really have concluded that while he craved for practical advice on the improvement of educational quality in his country, he stood in even greater need of help with the theory that lies behind it – unless to please his academic audience!

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